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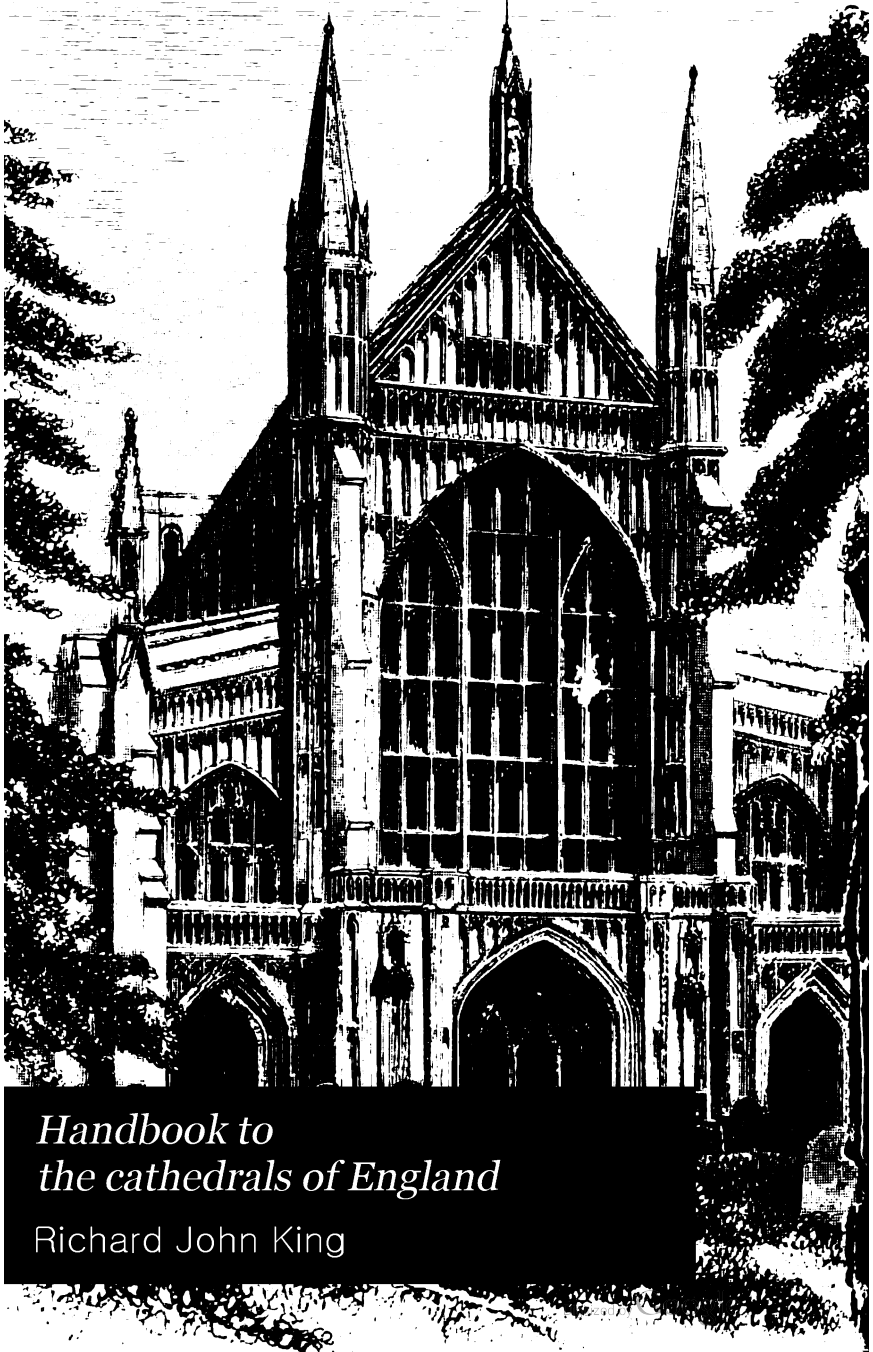
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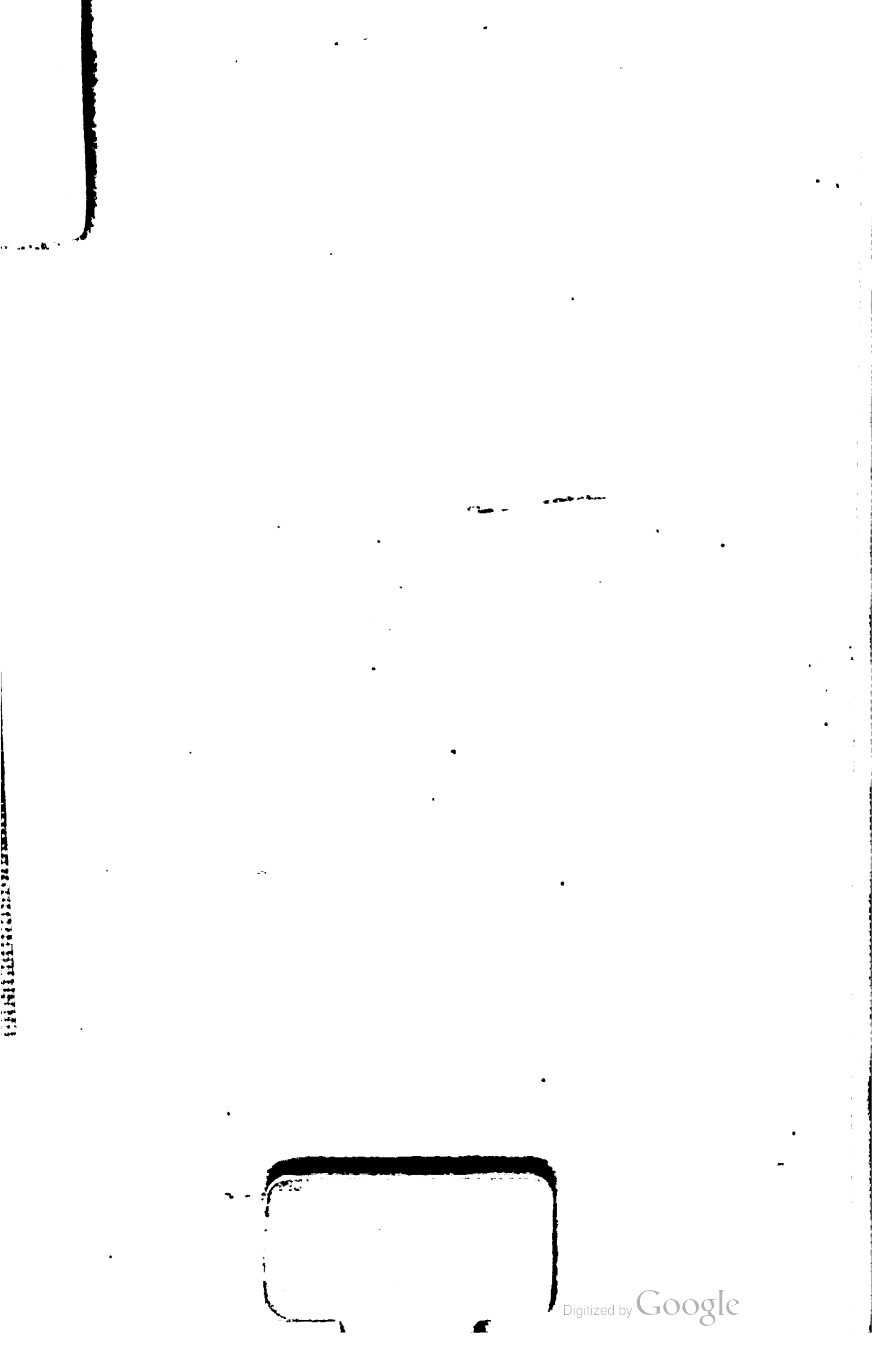
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*Handbook to  
the cathedrals of England*

Richard John King



King

3 - MR







1-5  
**HANDBOOK**  
**TO THE**  
**CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND.**

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**Southern Division.**

2.13

**PART I.**

**WINCHESTER.—SALISBURY.**

**EXETER.—WELLS.**

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**With Illustrations.**

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**LONDON:**  
**JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.**  
**J. H. AND JAS. PARKER, OXFORD.**

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**1861.**

M. R. B. 3

W. W. W. W.  
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Printed by Messrs. Parker, Cornmarket, Oxford.

FOR LIFE



King

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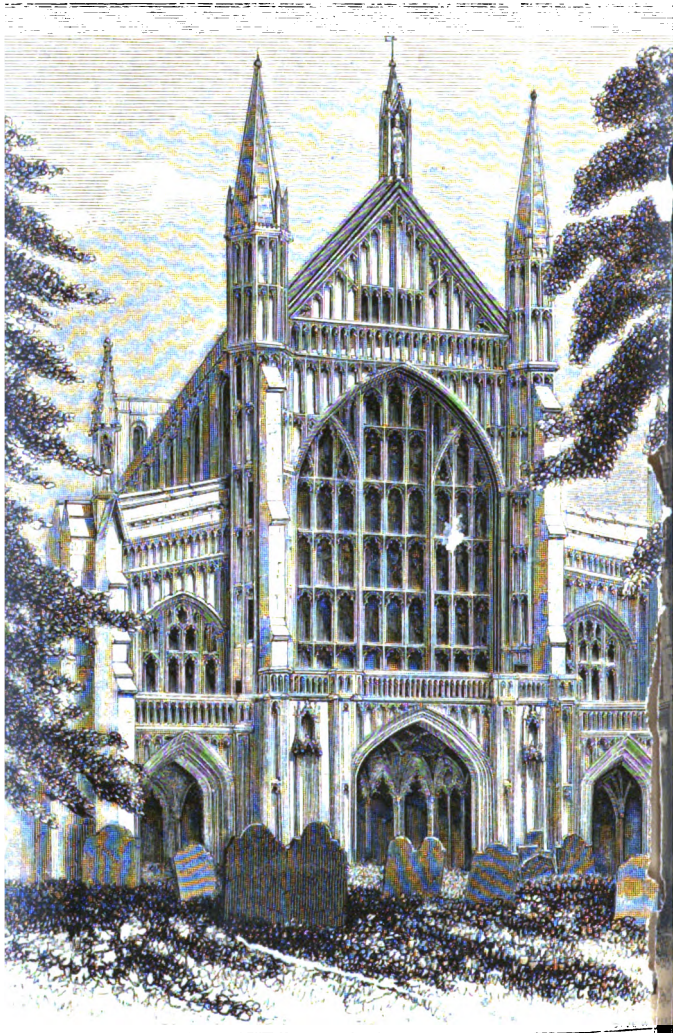
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FOR LIFE

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



WEST FRONT.

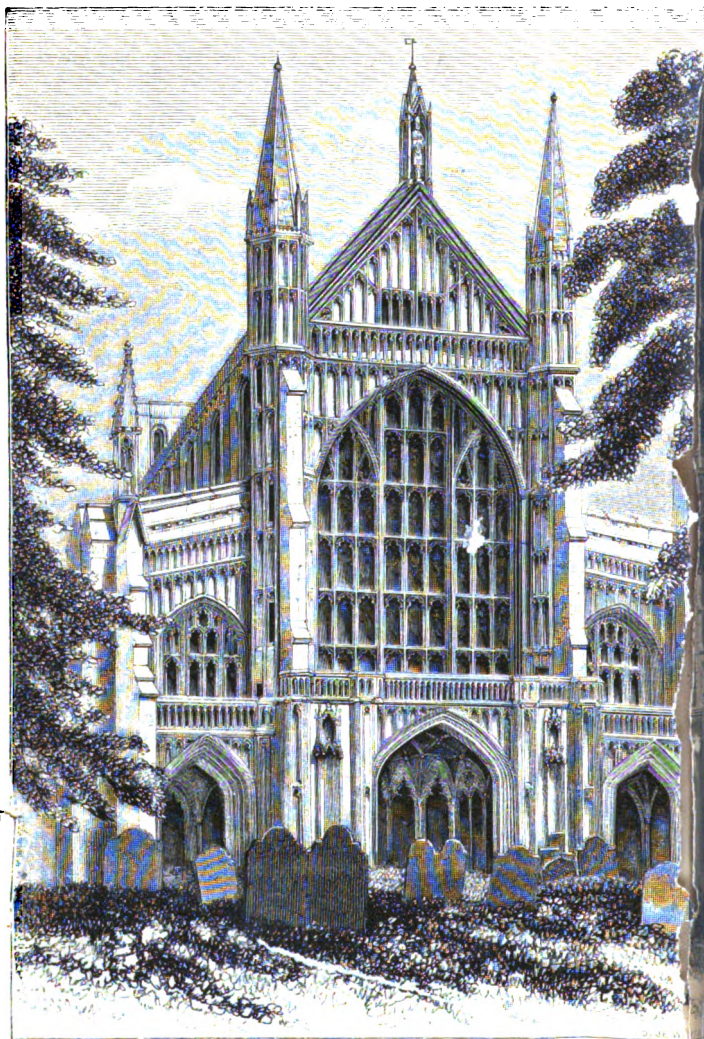


E. J. M. T. & Co.

BOWL OF THE FONT.

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



WEST FRONT.



BOWL OF THE FONT.



## PREFACE.

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THE Handbook for the Cathedrals of England, a first instalment of which is now offered to the reader, is intended to serve both as a history, and as a guide to the visitor on the spot. With this view the architectural descriptions have been kept as free from technicalities as is at all consistent with accuracy; and where it has been found necessary to notice at any length disputed points of date or construction, the discussion has been removed to a third part, or Appendix.

The Handbook has been drawn up after a careful personal examination of each Cathedral; and the best recent works, especially the "Architectural Histories" of Professor Willis, have been consulted during its compilation. The Handbook for each Cathedral forms two parts; the first of which embraces its architectural history and details, the second contains a short history of the see, with notices of the principal archbishops or bishops who have filled it. The dates have for the most part been adopted from Mr. Stubbs' very useful *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, Oxford, 1858.

It has been thought advisable to arrange the work in divisions, the present volumes commencing with—

The *Southern Cathedrals*: containing Win-

chester, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, Chichester, Canterbury and Rochester.

To be followed, with as little delay as possible, by—

The *Eastern Cathedrals* : Oxford, Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, and Lincoln.

The *Western Cathedrals* : Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Lichfield.

The *Northern Cathedrals* : York, Ripon, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, and Manchester.

The *Welsh Cathedrals* : Llandaff, St. David's, St. Asaph's, and Bangor.

Each division will thus form a complete Handbook to the group of cathedrals — generally within short distances of each other — which it embraces.

The most important and characteristic portions of each cathedral have been selected for illustration ; so as to afford, on the completion of the work, an entire series of architectural examples, from the earliest Norman period to the latest Perpendicular. The monumental effigies, the most interesting of which will also be engraved, have been chosen with the view of presenting the greatest possible variety of costume, armour, and architectural detail. These illustrations are for the most part original, and are from drawings made on the spot by Mr. Jewitt, who has also engraved most of them, with the assistance of

R. J. K.

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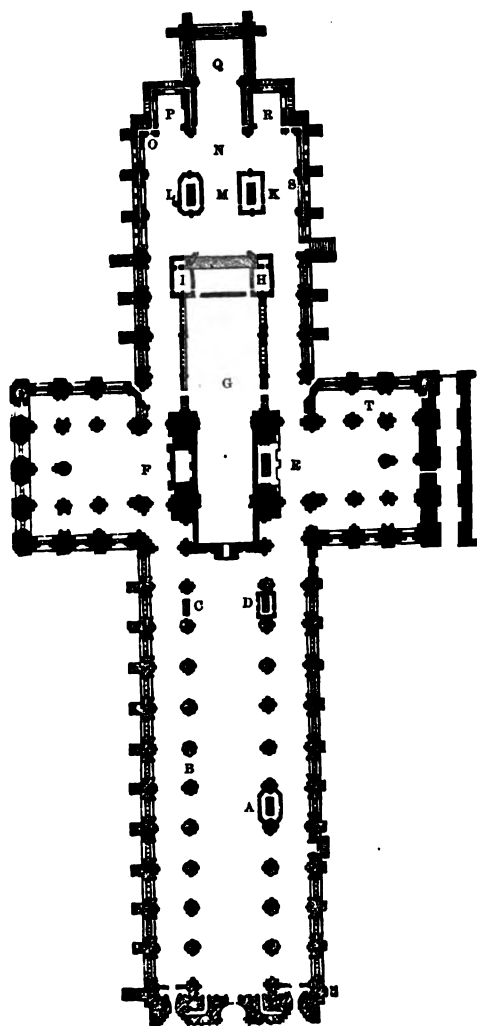
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GROUND PLAN. WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in.

# WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

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## PART I.

### History and Details.

**R**ESERVING all notice of the earlier cathedrals for the second part, we commence our survey of the existing structure by briefly recording the dates and builders of its various portions.

I. Following the usual custom of the Norman bishops, Bishop **WALKELIN** (1070—1098) commenced a new cathedral “from the foundations” in the year 1079. It was completed in 1093, when the monks (see Part II. for the history of the monastery connected with the church) entered it in solemn procession, in presence of nearly all the bishops and abbots of England. Bishop **GODFREY DE LUCY** (1189—1204) made considerable additions to the eastern part of Walkelin’s cathedral; and Bishop **EDINGDON** (1345—1366), besides other works, commenced the new nave, which was continued by his successors, **WYKEHAM** (1366—1404), **BEAUFORT** (1404—1447), and **WAYNFLETE** (1447—1486): much of the presbytery is the work of Bishop **Fox** (1500—1528); and the extreme eastern portion of the Lady-chapel is also of this date. The present cathedral consists of these recorded works, ranging from Walkelin to Fox,—

a period of five centuries,—together with others of less importance, whose history is not so certain. It affords, accordingly, striking specimens of—

*Early Norman*—in the crypt and transepts, the remaining portions of Walkelin's cathedral; of

*Early English*—in the eastern aisles and chapels behind the presbytery, Bishop de Lucy's work; of

*Decorated*—in the piers and arches of the presbytery itself, parts of which date from about 1320; and of

*Perpendicular*—in the unrivalled nave, ranging from Edington to Waynflete (1345—1486).

II. The *exterior* of the cathedral, [Plate I.], in spite of the enormous mass which it presents, is at first sight disappointing, owing chiefly to its unusual want of decoration, and to the lowness of its heavy Norman tower. The venerable walls, however, contrast very pleasantly with the bright, close sward and the fresh leafage of the precincts, which are kept in admirable order. The best *distant* view is that from the top of St. Catherine's Hill, where the whole vast extent of the cathedral is seen, rising solemnly above the ancient city. "The great length of the church is pleasingly broken, as at Ely and Peterborough, by the bold projection of its transepts, which here extend, as usual in England, three bays beyond the aisles, their section being the same with that of the nave<sup>a</sup>." A short avenue of trees leads through the Close to the western door, by which the visitor should by all means enter.

III. The *west front* (now, 1860, in process of re-

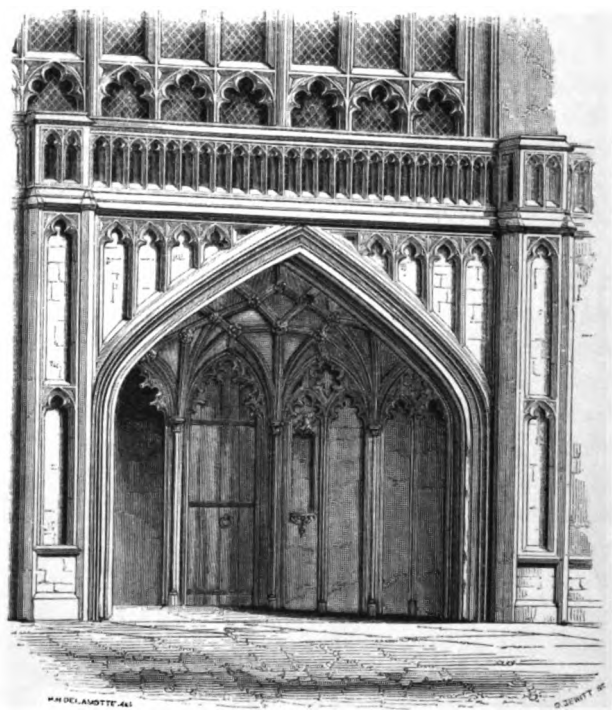
<sup>a</sup> Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, p. 859.



GENERAL VIEW FROM THE NORTH-WEST.







WEST PORCH.

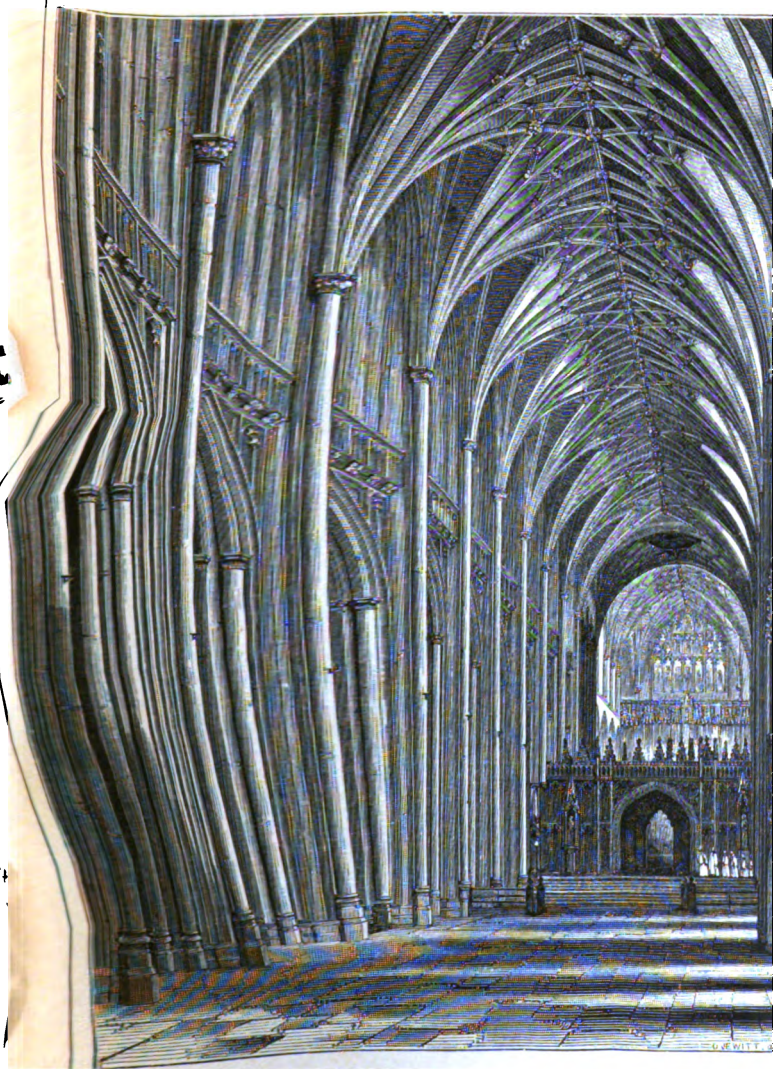
storation) [*Frontispiece*] was originally the work of Bishop EDINGDON (1345—1366). Bishop Walkelin's Norman nave extended about 40 feet in advance of the present one, forming "two western towers or a kind of western transept."—*Willis*. The extreme western portion seems to have been in a ruinous state when Bishop Edingdon pulled it down, and built (as is generally asserted) the present west front, with the great window and porches, together with the two first bays of the nave on the north side, and one on the south. [Plate II.] There is strong reason, however, for believing that the porches, the mullions and tracery of the windows, and the central gable, are all considerably later than Edingdon's time. Their perpendicular character is, at all events, distinctly marked. The peculiarities which distinguish the work usually assigned to Edingdon from that of his successors, who continued the nave, will best be pointed out from within. The design of the great west window is very simple, "reducing itself to the merest stone grating."—*Willis*. Figures of St. Peter and St. Paul formerly occupied the tabernacles between the porches; and a statue of William of Wykeham still remains in the niche at the top of the gable above the window. Over the porch is an exterior gallery, as at Exeter.

IV. Before entering, the visitor should remark the grand view of the interior obtained through the open central door. The length of Winchester (520 feet from this entrance to the extreme eastern buttresses) exceeds that of any other cathedral on this side of the Alps,

with the exception of Ely (560 feet); and of Canterbury, which is about five feet longer than Winchester<sup>b</sup>. The effect of this great length, 390 feet of which (as far as the end of the choir) are visible from the west door unbroken by the organ, which is placed under the north tower-arch, is in the highest degree grand and impressive. A certain coldness, arising from want of colour, is perhaps felt at first; but the eye soon learns to dwell contentedly on the magnificent forest of piers, and on all the graceful details above and around them. The stringcourse of corbel-heads, and the light balustrade of the triforium in the nave, should here be noticed as remarkably aiding the general effect.

V. The *nave* of Winchester [Plate III.] "exhibits one of the most curious instances of transformation from one style of architecture to another that has been preserved to us; for although at present a complete and perfect specimen of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is yet, in the heart and core of its structure, from the ground to the roof, the original Norman building commenced, if not completed, by Bishop Walkelin." Bishop Edington, as has already been stated, rebuilt the extreme western part, having first entirely removed this portion of the Norman nave. Edington's work was continued

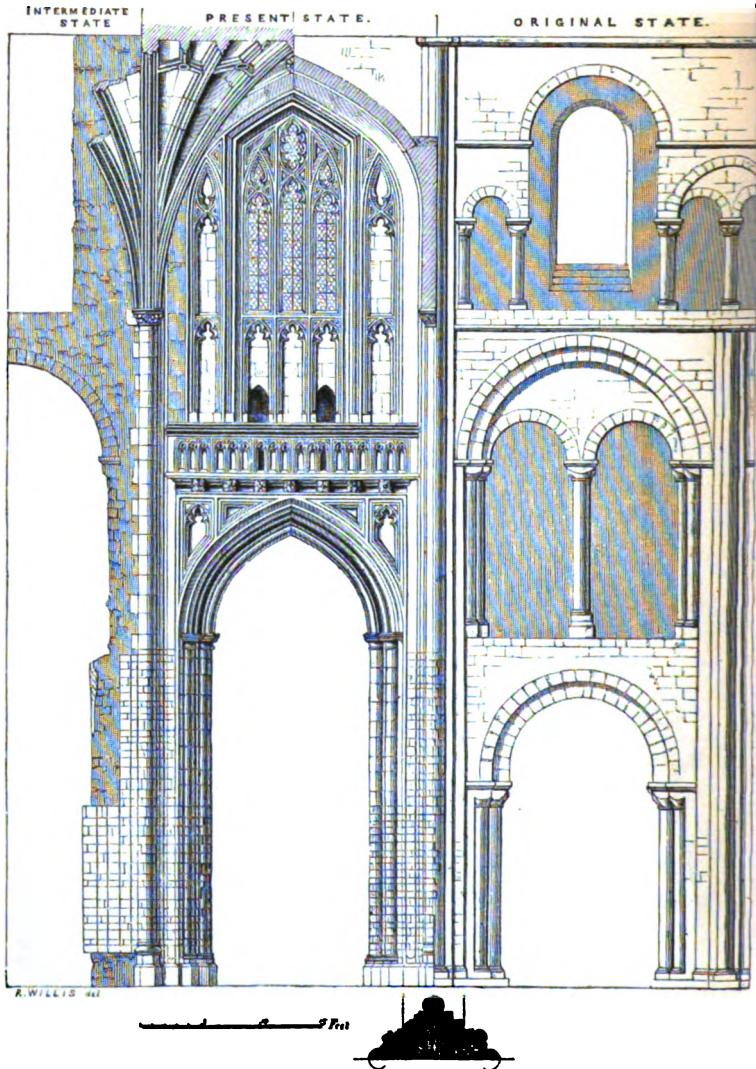
<sup>b</sup> It seems probable that these three (Ely, Winchester, and Canterbury) are the longest cathedrals that exist, with the exception of St. Peter's at Rome, the extreme length of which, within the walls, is 607 feet. The cathedral of Milan (the largest of all mediæval cathedrals) covers one-third more ground than Winchester, but is not so long by nearly 100 feet.



NAVE, FROM THE WEST.







TRANSFORMATION OF THE NAVE.

by his successor, WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM (1366—1404), who purchased for this purpose the use of the stone quarries of Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight. (Walkelin had built his cathedral from the same quarries, granted him by a charter of Rufus.) He began the *transformation* of the nave from Norman to Perpendicular. [Plate IV.] "I use the word advisedly," says Professor Willis, "instead of *rebuilding*, for the Norman core still remains in the piers and walls up to the parapet, and in many places the Norman ashlar as well." Thus the eight westerly piers on the south side retain the Norman ashlar, upon which the new mouldings have been wrought. The Norman arches still remain behind the triforium; Norman shafts remain above the present vault; and on the outside of the clerestory the Norman masonry and flat buttress may be seen running up between the Perpendicular windows. In the south side aisle part of the lower extremity of a Norman shaft appears, having probably been covered by some shrine or altar work. The Norman pier-shafts and capitals remain *in situ* in the second bay from the crossing on the north side, where they were covered by the roodscreen, and therefore left unaltered.

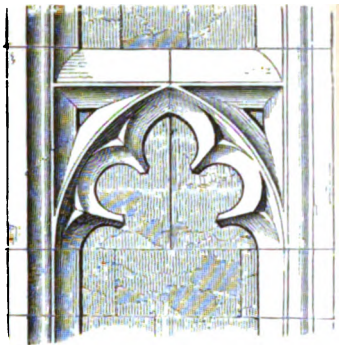
VI. A careful examination will shew many differences between the part of the nave built by Edington [Plate VI.] (the west front, the first two bays on the north side, and one on the south), and all the rest. The first two windows, for example, in the north aisle are of a different and far inferior design to those beyond them. "They are singularly heavy, and from the ex-

treme depth of their exterior mouldings, have a most cavernous and gloomy appearance."—*Willis*. The heads of the panels and lights in Edington's work also differ from those of the rest of the nave. [Plate V.] The points of the cusps in the first are decorated each with a small leaf, in the other work they are plain.

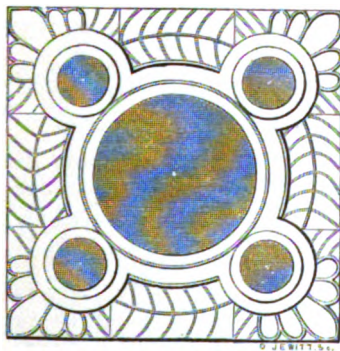
VII. The admirable manner in which the original Norman work was partly cut away, and partly worked into the new Perpendicular, will best be appreciated by a comparison between the nave of Winchester and the choir of Gloucester Cathedral, which is purely Norman in design, and, like the former, has been "overlaid with a veneer of masonry in the pointed style." The work at Gloucester, however, is of a later age, and executed by far less vigorous hands; and instead of a complete amalgamation of the two styles, as at Winchester, the pointed is in effect added to the round-arched style. Owing partly to the necessary thickness produced by casing the Norman piers, the dimensions of the nave at Winchester are somewhat unusual. The piers dividing the aisles are twelve feet thick, while the side aisles are only thirteen feet wide, and the central aisle thirty-two feet. "Yet with all this there is nothing heavy, but, on the contrary, it is perhaps the most beautiful nave of a church either in England or elsewhere, wanting only somewhat increased dimensions."—*Fergusson*. It should be compared throughout with that of Canterbury, which was in building at the same time. There, however, the old Norman nave was entirely pulled down; and the pier-arch mouldings are conse-



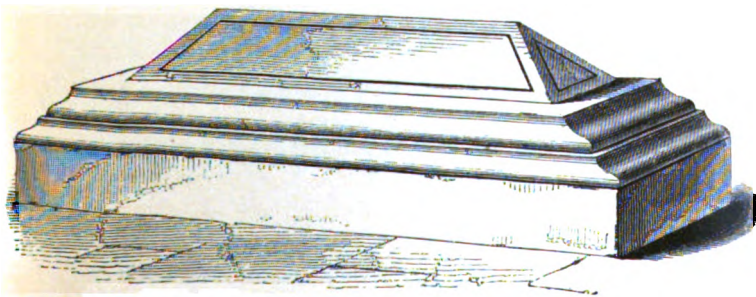
PANEL, WAYNFLETE'S WORK.



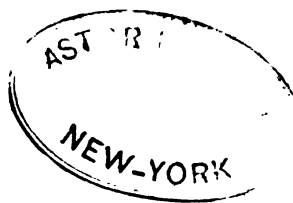
PANEL, WYKEHAM'S WORK.

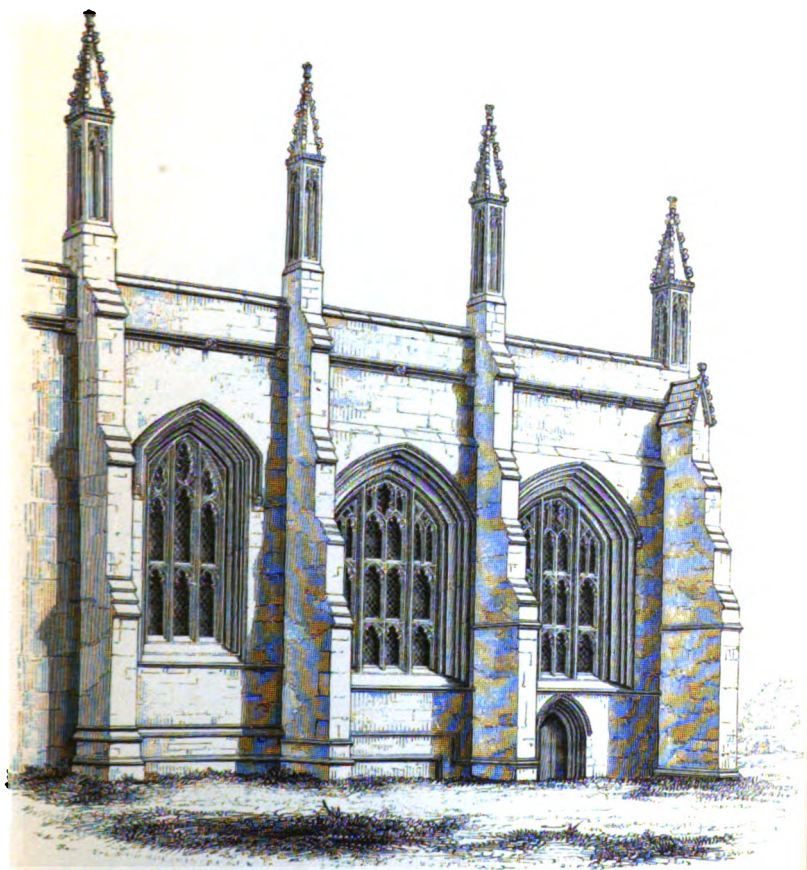


PLAN OF FONT.



TOMB OF WILLIAM RUFUS.





WEST END OF NORTH AISLE OF NAVE.

SHewing TWO WINDOWS OF EDINGDON'S WORK, AND ONE OF WYKEHAM'S.



quently much lighter, and the piers more slender, than those of Winchester. Both naves have lierne vaults; the invention of which has sometimes been ascribed to Wykeham, but which were really in use long before his time. The balcony above the pier-arches at Winchester, beautiful in effect, was to some extent a necessity, arising from the thick Norman wall, which had to be dealt with and disguised. The design of the windows throughout the nave (except Edington's) is very elegant and peculiar, and should be especially noticed. The *glass* with which the west window is filled was, it is said, collected from different parts of the building after the destruction of the rest by Cromwell's troops. It is, however, "undoubtedly the earliest Perpendicular glass in the cathedral, and may be the work of Bishop Edington," like the original window itself.—*C. Winston*. The great iron hooks between the piers were used for supporting the tapestry with which the church was decorated on high festivals.

VIII. At Wykeham's death, in 1404, the south side of the nave was completed, and the north begun. The works were carried on and finished by his two successors, Cardinal Beaufort and Bishop Waynflete (1404—1486). Less of the original Norman work seems to have been worked into the walls on the north side, than by Wykeham on the south. The arms on the bosses of the vault of the nave, and on the string-course under the triforium, are those of Wykeham, of Cardinal Beaufort and of his father, John of Gaunt; the white hart chained is the cognisance

of Richard II., and the lily is the device of Bishop Waynflete.

IX. At the west end of the north aisle is a square stone gallery, called the *tribune*. [Plate VIII.] It is part of Edington's work, and was intended to serve as a gallery for minstrels on extraordinary occasions. The episcopal registers are now deposited here.

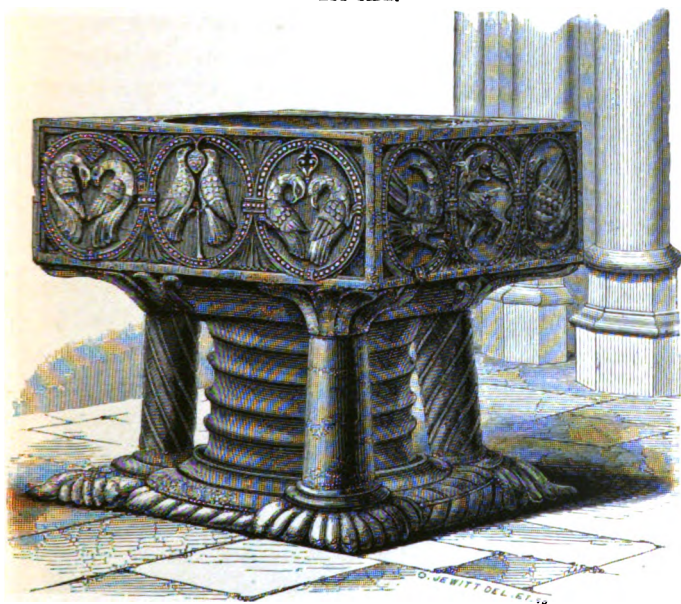
X. The *font*\*, [*Title*], in the north aisle of the nave, is, no doubt, of Walkelin's time, and is of very similar character with those of East Meon in this county, and of St. Michael's Church, Southampton. All three were apparently the work of the same sculptor. The designs on the four sides of the Winchester font are partly baptismal symbols [Plate VII.] (the salamander and the drinking doves), and partly represent events from the life of St. Nicholas of Myra, the patron saint of children, and in great honour with the Normans.

XI. On the south side of the nave, and in the second bay from the choir, is *Bishop Edington's Chantry* (1345—1366), the first of a very fine series of chantry chapels contained in the cathedral, most of which were erected during the life of the persons by whom they were founded. (See Part II. for a sketch of Edington's life.) Edington's chantry (which suffered some alteration during the transformation of the piers against which it stands, from Norman to Perpendicular) is of inferior design and interest to that of WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM (1366—1404), [Plate IX.], which occupies the entire space between two piers of the nave, on the

\* For plan of font see Plate V.



WEST SIDE.

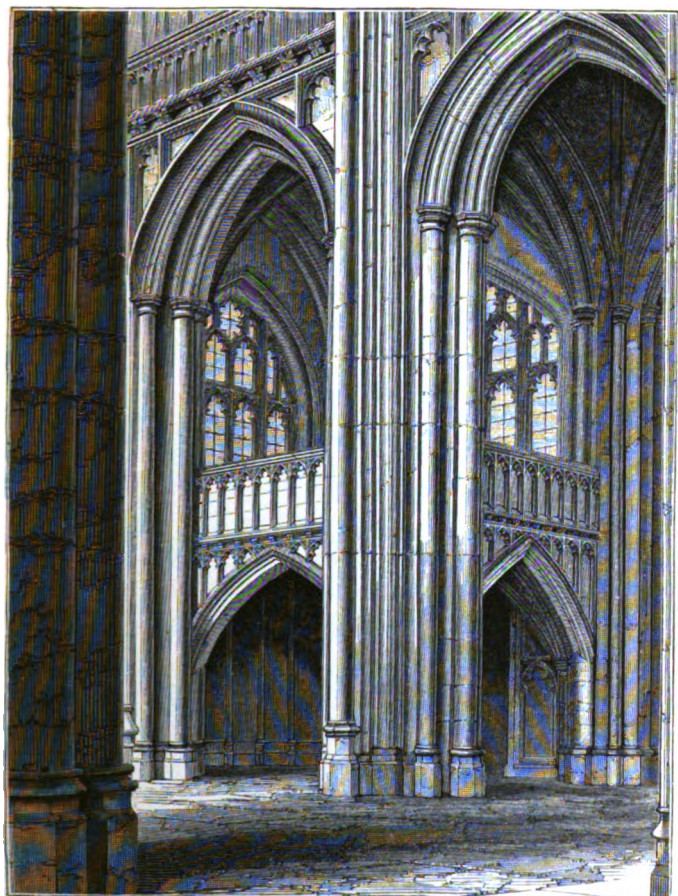


EAST AND NORTH SIDES



SOUTH SIDE.





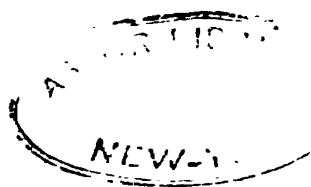
THE MINSTRELS' GALLERY, OR TRIBUNE.





CHANTRY OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.







EFFIGY OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

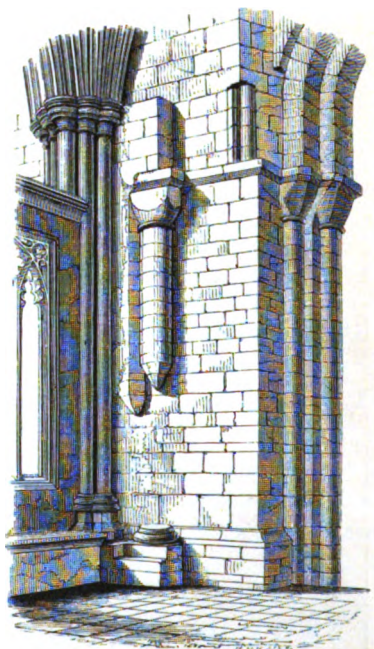
same side, in the fifth bay from the west end. This chapel, to which Wykeham refers in his will, was built by him on the site of an altar dedicated to the Virgin, his especial patroness, the mass at which he had always been accustomed to attend when a boy at school, and which stood, it is said, "in that part of the cross precisely which corresponded with the pierced side of the Saviour." The design of Wykeham's chantry is very beautiful; and it is one of the best remaining specimens of a fourteenth-century monumental chapel. The foundation of the altar is still visible. The Bishop's effigy, [Plate X.], the 'comeliness' of which, it has been suggested, may have induced Anthony Wood to describe him having been of 'a courtly presence,' reposes on an altar-tomb in the centre, arrayed in cope and mitre. The pillow at the head is supported by two angels. At the feet, three monks are represented offering up prayers for the repose of the departed soul. (They are said, but questionably, to represent Wykeham's three assistants in the cathedral works—William Wynford, his architect; Simon de Membury, his surveyor of the works; and John Wayte, controller.) The tomb is kept in repair by the members of the Bishop's two foundations, at Winchester and Oxford. (For further notices of Wykeham, see Part II.)

XII. Among the monuments in the south aisle, are those of—Dr. WARTON, head master of Winchester College, died 1800: it is by Flaxman, and graceful in design, although the boys whom the Doctor is instructing must have been chosen for their peculiar ugliness;

the epitaph was written by Dr. Parr;—of HENRIETTA MARIA NORTH, also by Flaxman; of Dean CHEYNEY, died 1760; of SIR GEORGE PREVOST, died 1816; and of Bishop TOMLINE, died 1820. The last is by Richard Westmacott, jun. Against the pier nearest the choir door, on the north side, and cut into its fabric in a disgraceful manner, is the monument of Bishop HOADLEY, died 1761. (See Part II.) Besides a medallion of the Bishop, the monument exhibits Magna Charta side by side with the Holy Scriptures, and the cap of Liberty jostling the pastoral staff. The flags of the 97th regiment are fixed in the corner near the south-west door; the wall adjoining which is painted with memorials, more interesting than artistic, of the losses of that gallant regiment during the Crimean war. The west window of the south aisle also is filled with stained glass to their memory.

XIII. From the nave we pass into the choir through a *screen* of stonework, (by Garbett,) erected some years since in place of a Corinthian structure designed by Inigo Jones. On either side are bronze figures of James I. and Charles I., which formed part of the older screen. The figure of Charles is said to have been much defaced and injured by the Parliamentary troops, who, so runs the tradition, “stabled their steeds” in the cathedral, after the fashion of the old Northmen. (It is also asserted, however, that their captain on this occasion was an old Wykehamist, and that he managed to prevent much mischief, although sufficient harm was done to the cathedral. Waller, who in the winter of





NORTH PIER OF TOWER.

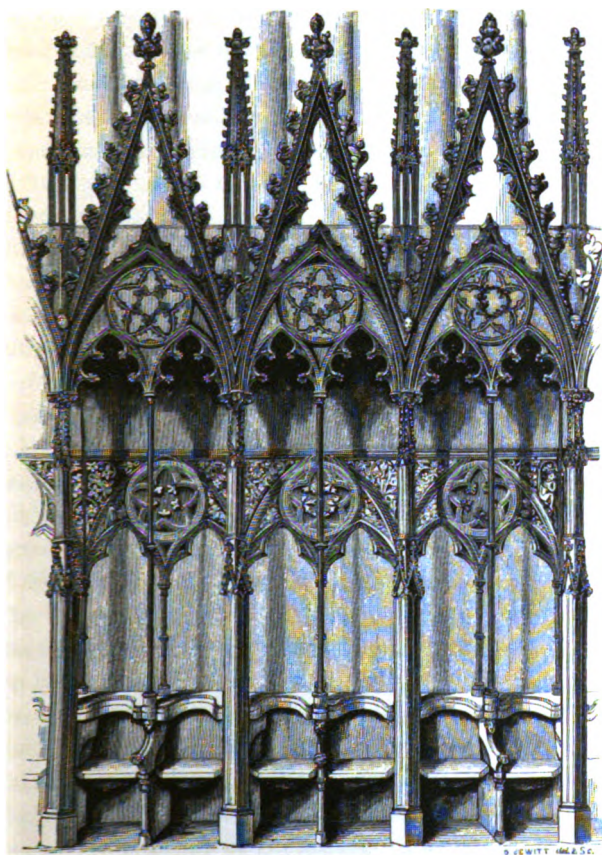
1643 had taken and given up to plunder the city of Winchester, afterwards regarded his ill fortune in the succeeding year as a divine judgment upon this proceeding.)

XIV. The *choir* itself consists of the old *choir of the monks*, under the tower, and of the *presbytery* beyond it. This portion of the cathedral is of various dates: the tower, late Norman; the piers, arches and clerestory of the presbytery, Decorated (*temp.* Bishop Edington, about 1350); the screen enclosing it, Perpendicular (the work of Bishop Fox, about 1524); the vaulting of the presbytery is also the work of Bishop Fox; and the ceiling under the tower dates from 1634.

XV. The *tower*, the enormous piers of which at once attract attention on entering the choir, was rebuilt after the year 1107, when the older tower of Walkelin's cathedral fell. William Rufus had been buried under it seven years before; and many thought, according to the old chroniclers, "that the fall of the tower was a judgment for his sins, since it was a grievous wrong to bury in that sacred place one who all his life had been profane and sensual, and who died without the Christian viaticum." The great size and massiveness of the piers is probably a result of the panic caused by the fall of their predecessors. [Plate XI.] "They are at present most unwieldy and intrusive, from their excessive size and awkward squareness of form; and are the largest tower-piers in England in proportion to the span of the arches that rest on them."—*Willis*.

The very narrow arches opening to the transepts should be remarked. It is common in churches with a central tower to give less span to these arches than to those opening east and west, in order to leave the view from one end to the other of the church unobstructed. The system is here carried to a very unusual excess. The tower was originally intended to serve as a lantern, but was ceiled over in the reign of Charles I. In the centre is an emblem of the Holy Trinity, surrounded by the sentence "Sint domus hujus pii reges nutritii, reginæ nutrices piæ." The larger letters are painted red, and form the date 1634. Medallions of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, with their arms and devices, also appear on this ceiling.

XVI. The *stalls*, which extend from the eastern tower-piers to the first pier of the nave, are of oak, as black as ebony, and probably exhibit the very finest woodwork of their date and style (which is the best) in the kingdom. [Plate XII.] "They are early Decorated (Geometrical) work, and their canopies and gables bear considerable resemblance to those of the tomb of Edmund Crouchback in Westminster Abbey."—*Willis*. This would place their date about 1296. The beauty and variety of the carvings are wonderful. There is no repetition; and the grace and elegance, as well as the fidelity, with which the foliage is represented, are nowhere to be surpassed. The human heads are full of expression; and the monkeys and other animals sporting among the branches have all the same exquisite finish. The mode in which the cusps of the circles in



STALLS IN THE CHOIR.



the canopies are terminated, is worthy of attention; and in short, at this period of the revival of wood-carving, no better examples could be found for study and imitation. The *misereres*, below, are of early character, and interesting. Their date is rather later than those (Early English) in Exeter Cathedral—the most ancient in the kingdom. The desks and stools in front of the upper range bear the initials of Henry VIII., Bishop Stephen Gardiner, and Dean Kingsmill; and the date 1540. The rich pulpit on the north side bears the name of its donor, “Thomas Silkstede, prior,” on different parts of it. The episcopal throne is modern, from a design of the late Mr. Garbett. The organ, a very fine one (which figured in the Great Exhibition of 1851), is placed under the north transept arch.

XVII. Passing beyond the tower piers into the *presbytery*, the eye is first caught by a plain coped tomb of Purbeck marble, in the centre of the pavement, between the north and south doors. This is the *tomb of William Rufus* (died 1100), [Plate V.], whose body, after his death in the New Forest, was brought by “certain rustics” in a cart (*rheda caballaria*) to Winchester, the blood dropping from the arrow wound throughout the whole distance. He was buried under the central tower, which fell seven years afterwards, and his tomb was then probably removed farther to the east. It no longer contains the ashes of the “Red King.” The bones were removed by his nephew, Bishop Henry de Blois, in the twelfth century, and are now mingled with those of Canute, Queen Emma, and two Saxon

bishops, in two of the mortuary chests above the screen work. (See § XX.) The tomb itself was opened by the Parliamentary soldiers, who found in it a large gold ring, a silver chalice, and the ashes of a human body; indications apparently of some later interment. The chalice, at all events, would not have been placed in the tomb of Rufus.

XVIII. The piers and arches of the *presbytery* are decorated, the extreme eastern portion (the north arch and the eastern arches) dating from about 1320, the rest from about 1350 (*temp.* Bishop Edington). Bishop Lucy's work, beyond the presbytery, east, to be afterwards noticed, had been already completed; and the new work of the presbytery was connected with it in a manner worth notice. (It may be examined at the back of the raised platform beyond the reredos.) The magnificent *reredos*, [Plate XIII.], which rises at the back of the altar, cutting off the polygonal part of the choir, (which occupies the place of the Norman apse, and owes its form to its keeping the line of the original foundations, as may be seen in the crypt below,) is probably of the latter end of the fifteenth century; its certain date has not, however, been preserved. It is of the same type as the altar-screens at Christchurch in this county, at St. Alban's, and at St. Mary's Overie. The empty niches give it a somewhat bare appearance; but a series of Grecian urns, with which they were filled in the early part of the last century, have since been happily removed. The whole screen has been restored, in part, it is believed, by Inigo Jones; for the magni-



REREDOS OF THE PRESBYTERY.



ficent tabernacle-work, which had been partly broken down, has been chiselled with an eye to classical architecture. Above the altar is a tolerably good picture of the raising of Lazarus, by West. The *vaulting* of the presbytery (of wood) is the work of Bishop Fox (1500—1520), and displays on its bosses a mass of heraldry, besides (at the east end) the various emblems of the Passion, together with a number of faces, representing Pilate and his wife, Herod, Annas and Caiaphas, Judas, Malchus with the sword of Peter dividing his ear, Peter himself, and many others. All are curious, and are best seen from the gallery below the east window.

XIX. The *east window* of the choir, best seen from the part under the tower, is filled with Perpendicular glass a little earlier than 1525, and the work of Bishop Fox, whose arms (four times repeated, and impaled with the arms of each of the sees he held in succession, Exeter, Bath, Wells, Durham, and Winchester,) and motto, 'Est Deo Gratia,' are introduced in it. "The only part of the glass, however, now in its original position, consists, as I think, of the two figures which occupy the two southernmost of the lower lights, and of that in all the tracery lights, except the top central one, and the three immediately below it. The top central light is filled principally with some glass of Wykeham's time, and all the rest of the window with glass of Fox's time, removed from other windows."—*C. Winston*. The window must have been magnificent in its original state. "In point of execution it is

as nearly perfect as painted glass can be. In it the shadows have attained their proper limit. It was at this period that glass painting attained its highest perfection as an art."—*C. W.*

XX. The presbytery is closed at the sides by *screens of stone tracery*, mostly erected by Bishop Fox, and bearing his motto, 'Est Deo Gratia.' There are also the initials of Cardinal Beaufort, with his motto, 'In Domino confido,' and the initials W. F., with the motto 'Sit Laus Deo,' belonging to some unknown contributor. The date 1525 also occurs here. Upon these screens, on either side, and under each pier-arch, are placed mortuary chests (also the work of Bishop Fox), [Plate XIV.], containing the bones of West Saxon kings and bishops, originally buried in the crypt of the old Saxon cathedral, and removed into Walkelin's church by Bishop Henry de Blois, who, it is said, mingled the bones together, since there were no inscriptions on the old monuments by which kings could be distinguished from bishops, or bishops from kings. By him they were placed in leaden sarcophagi. The present chests, six in number, are of wood, carved, painted, and gilt, and in the style of the 'Renaissance,' which was beginning to appear in England in Fox's time. The names inscribed on the chests are (beginning from the altar on the north side, and returning to it on the south):—1. Kynegils (first Christian king), and Eadulph (or Ethelwulf, father of King Alfred), kings. 2. Kenulph (or Kenewalch, son of Kynegils), and Egbert (the so-called consolidator of the Anglo Saxon monarchy), kings. 3. and 4. (oppo-



MORTUARY CHEST, ON THE SOUTH SCREEN OF PRESBYTERY.



site each other), Canute, Rufus, Queen Emma, and the Bishops Wini and Alwyn. 5. Edmund (not a son of King Alfred, as is generally said, but possibly Edmund Ironside). 6. Edred, king. It is known, however, that the chests were opened during the civil wars, and the contents scattered about the church; consequently it would be unsafe to rely on the identity of the contents of each chest, although the visitor may fairly believe that the actual relics of the Saxon kings are laid up within them.

XXI. On either side of the altar, a door opens to the space behind the reredos, forming the polygonal part of the choir. (Carvings in the spandrels of these doors represent the Annunciation and the Visitation of Elizabeth.) This space behind the reredos was the *feretory*, a place for the *feretra* or shrines of the patron saints; and before the construction of the reredos it must, of course, have been visible from the extreme western end of the church. This arrangement of the shrines at the back of the high altar was and is a very usual one, both in England and on the Continent. (We have a good example of it in Edward the Confessor's Chapel at Westminster Abbey.) At the east end of the feretory is a raised platform seven feet broad, and extending quite across. It was originally much higher than at present; and "in front are the remains of a hollow place, which, from the piers and other indications that remain on the floor, evidently had an arcade in front of it." On this platform was, no doubt, the shrine of St. Swithun, and that of St. Biri-

nus, who converted Kynegils. Smaller relics were possibly displayed in the arcade below. Beneath the platform is "The Holy Hole," as the door was named which formerly led from the retro-choir into the crypt, where the bishops and others were buried.

XXII. Returning into the nave, or passing through the north door of the presbytery, we enter the *north transept*, [Plate XV.], where the visitor at once finds himself carried back to the days of Bishop Walkelin. All here (with the exception of some of the windows, which are Decorated insertions, and of the flat boarded ceiling, part of the repairs made by Prebendary Nott in 1827, before which the transepts were open to the roof) is plain and rude Norman, massive and grand in effect, and impressing the mind with the strongest feeling of antiquity. The arches, both of triforium and clerestory, are square-edged, like the pier-arches below them: "hence arises the peculiarly simple and massive effect of this part of the church."—*Willis*. Both transepts have east and west aisles; and in addition, at each end, "an aisle which rises only to the pier-arch level, and consists of two arches only, which rest in the middle on a triple bearing-shaft, instead of the compound pier which is employed about the rest of the work." This kind of gallery is rare in England, but not unusual in the churches of Normandy. Both transepts are of two periods, the earlier part being indicated by the plain groined vaults and smaller piers; the later having ribbed vaults, and piers (the northernmost of the arcade on either side, with the responds) which have been



BAY OF NORTH TRANSEPT.



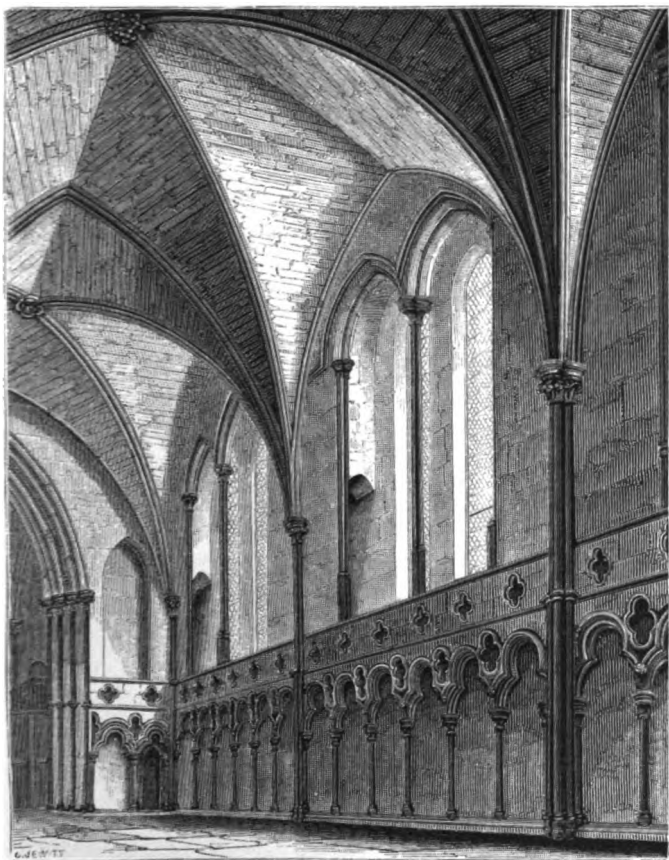
enlarged to strengthen turrets which once flanked the transepts, and of which a semi-arch at the eastern angle of the north transept is a memorial. See *Willis*, pp. 26, 27. The earlier part is, no doubt, Bishop Walkelin's (1070—1098), and, together with the crypt, the oldest portion of the cathedral. The later dates from about 1107, when the central tower was rebuilt. The transepts should be compared with those of Ely Cathedral (the work of Walkelin's brother Simeon), with which they are nearly identical. "It is worth observing, in comparing Winchester and Ely, the contemporary works of the brothers Walkelin and Simeon, that they were both erected on different sites from their previous Saxon churches, and, moreover, that the central towers of both of them fell in after ages, Walkelin's in 1107, and Simeon's in 1321."—*Willis*. In this transept is an altar-tomb with effigy, for the Rev. F. Iremonger, Prebendary of Winchester, died 1820. Under the organ-loft, fronting the transept, is the *Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre*; the walls of which are covered with rude wall-paintings of the thirteenth century, illustrative of the passion of our Saviour.

XXIII. Ascending the steps from the transept, the north aisle of the presbytery is entered, the north side of which is Perpendicular. The view beyond this, on entering the *extreme eastern portion* of the church, is very striking. From more than one point, seven chantries and chapels, nearly each one the last resting-place of a prelate whose name was once a 'tower of strength,' are visible at once. "How much power and ambition

under half-a-dozen stones!" wrote Walpole. "I own I grow to look on tombs as lasting mansions, instead of observing them for curious pieces of architecture."

The attention, however, should first be directed to the architecture of this eastern portion. With the exception of the extreme east end of the central or Lady-chapel, it is throughout the work of Bishop GODFREY DE LUCY (1189—1204), and, consequently, a very early example of Early English. [Plate XVI.] The design and details are of great beauty, and deserve the most careful notice. The three aisles, or alleys (called 'procession-paths,' or the *via processionum*) are separated from each other by three arches on each side, and terminate eastward in chapels. "The peculiar arrangement of these low eastern aisles may be compared with those of the cathedrals of Hereford, Salisbury, Chichester, St. Alban's, Wells, and Exeter. Of these, Winchester is the most extensive, and Hereford the earliest."—*Willis*. All these aisles were formed in order to facilitate the circulation of processions. An arcade passes round the ground wall.

XXIV. The *north chapel* (part of De Lucy's work) [Plate XVII.] is called that of the *Guardian Angels*, from the figures of angels still remaining on the vaulting. Bishop Adam de Orleton, died 1345, is said to have established a chantry here. In it is a recumbent statue in bronze of Weston, Earl of Portland, Charles the First's Lord High Treasurer. Here is also the tomb of Bishop MEWS, died 1706, with his crozier and mitre suspended above it.



SOUTH AISLE, BEHIND THE PRESBYTERY.  
(DE LUCY'S WORK.)

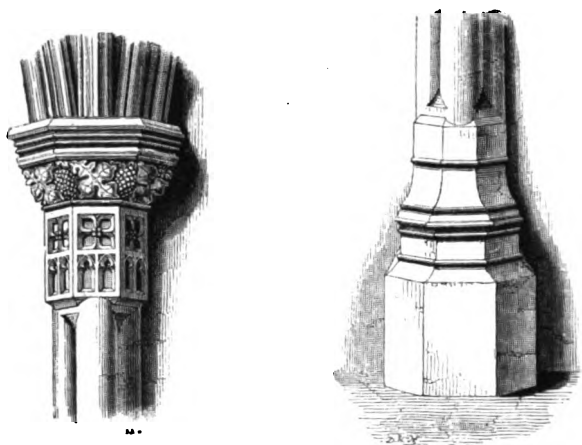
SECRETARY.



DOOR. NORTH OF LADY-CHAPEL.  
(DE LUCY'S WORK.)



LIBRARY,



CAPITAL AND BASE IN LADY-CHAPEL.



QUEEN MARY'S CHAIR, LADY-CHAPEL.

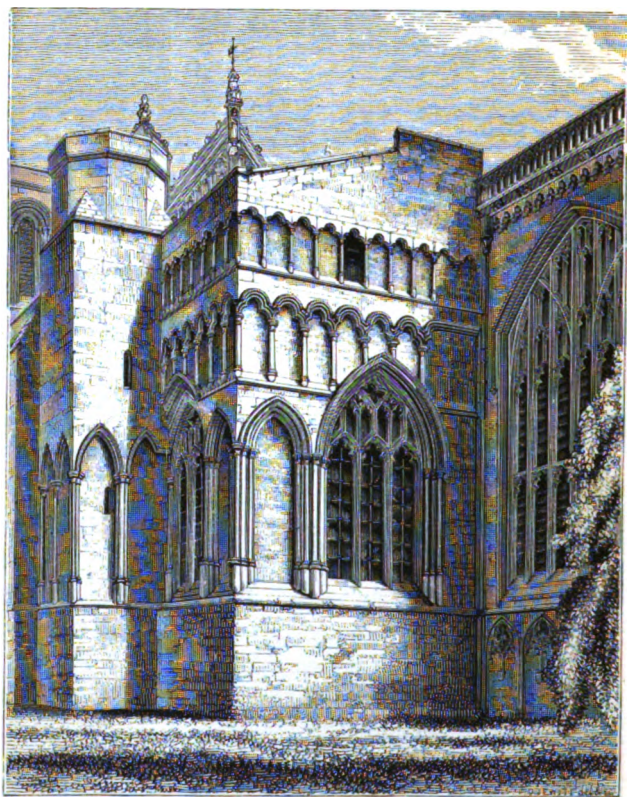
Against the north-east wall of the aisle, without the chapel, is a half-figure holding a heart, representing Bishop **ETHELMAR**, half-brother of Henry III., who died in Paris 1261, but whose heart was brought to this cathedral. The arms are those of Lusignan: (see Part II.)

XXV. The *central* or *Lady-chapel* is singularly mixed in style. The north and south walls, as far as the east walls of the two side chapels, are De Lucy's work, and retain his rich Early English arcade. "The eastern compartment on each side, as well as the east wall, have respectively a large Perpendicular window of seven lights, with transom and tracery of a peculiar kind of subordination, or rather interpenetration of patterns, well worth a careful study. The vault is a complex and beautiful specimen of *lierne* work." The capitals and bases of the vaulting-shafts are unusual, and very beautiful. [Plate XVIII.] The carved panelling of the western half of this chapel, the seats, desks, and screen of separation, are all excellent, and should be noticed. All this Perpendicular work is due to Prior **HUNTON** (1470—1498), and his successor, Prior **SILKSTEDE** (1498—1524). On the vault, round the two central keys,—one representing the Almighty, the other the Blessed Virgin,—are the rebuses of the two priors: the letter *T*, the syllable *Hun*, the figure of a *ton*, for 'Thomas Hunton;' the figure 1 and the letters *Por* for 'Prior:' the letter *T*, the syllable *silk*, the word *sted* with a horse below it, and the figure 1 with letters as before, for 'Thomas Silkstede, prior.' The walls of this

chapel are covered with the remains of some very curious paintings illustrating the legendary history of the Virgin. Remark the procession of St. Gregory through the streets of Rome during the plague; he bears a picture of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke;—the drowning monk saved by the Virgin; the woman who died without confession, but who by the intercession of the Virgin was restored to life till she had confessed and been absolved; the thief whom the Virgin saves from hanging; and the painter who, when his scaffold falls while he is at work on the figure of the Virgin, is saved by an arm extended from the picture. These are all the work of Prior Silkestede, whose portrait, with an inscription, is still faintly visible over the piscina.

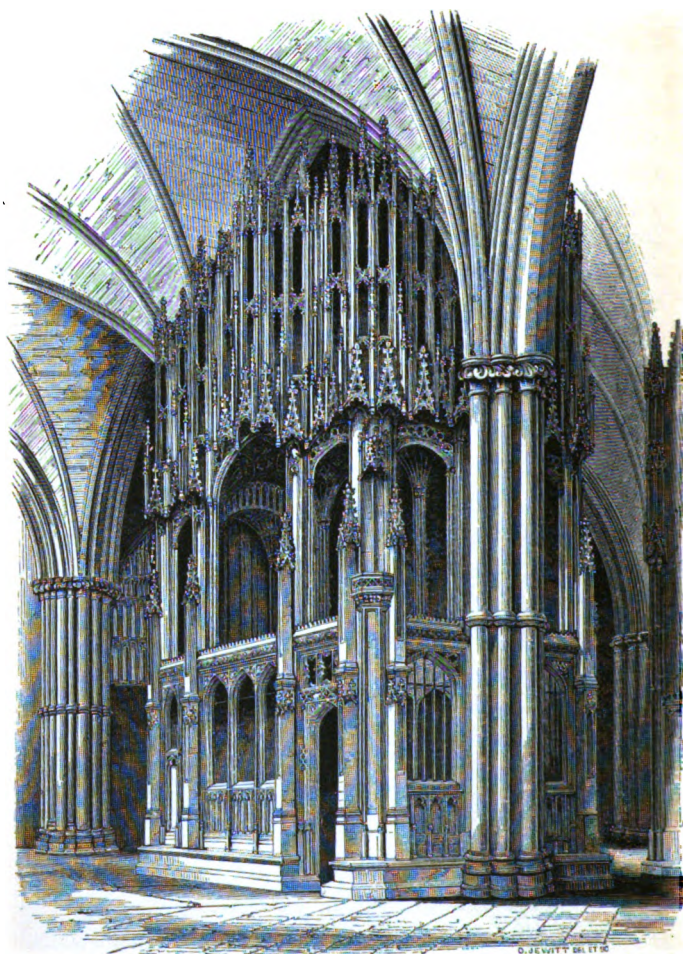
A fine statue of Bishop NORTH, d. 1820, by CHANTREY, is placed in this chapel; and here is preserved the chair, or faldstool, covered with faded velvet, upon which Queen Mary sat on the occasion of her marriage to Philip of Spain. [Plate XVIII.] The ceremony was performed in this chapel, July 25, 1554, on the festival of St. James, the great patron of Spain. The English court beauties are said to have enjoyed a special triumph on this occasion, in contrast with the olive tints of the Southerns. The Marquis of Winchester, and the Earls of Pembroke and Derby, gave the Queen away; and among the great lords in Philip's train were Alva, and Egmont, the future scourge of the Low Countries, and his noblest victim. At the succeeding banquet in the episcopal palace, Bishop Gardiner alone dined at the royal table. The boys of Wykeham's College recited Latin





LANGTON'S CHAPEL, AND PART OF LADY-CHAPEL.  
(DE LUCY'S WORK.)





CHANTRY OF WILLIAM OF WAYNFLETE.

epithalamiums after the banquet, and then came a ball, "at which the English acquitted themselves well."

XXVI. The *south chapel* (De Lucy's work) was fitted up as a chantry by Bishop LANGTON, died 1500. [Plate XIX.] The woodwork is very rich and beautiful, and the vault most elaborate. Remark the rebuses on it: the musical note termed a *long* inserted into a *ton* for Langton; a *vine* and *ton* for his see, Winton; and a *hen* sitting on a *ton* for his prior, Hunton. The dragon issuing from a *ton* is also a rebus for Winton, and is explained from the Vulgate: "Ne intuearis *vinum* quando flavescit; cum splenduerit in vitro color ejus: ingreditur blande, sed in novissimo mordebit ut *coluber*, et sicut *regulus* venena diffundet." Prov. xxiii. 31, 32. The altar-tomb here is that of Bishop Langton.

The modern stained glass which has been placed in some of these chapels, and in other windows, can hardly be called good, and rather interferes with, than aids, the general effect.

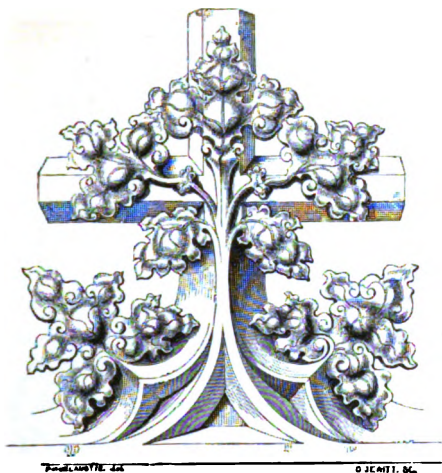
In front of the Lady-chapel is a plain slab of grey marble, which no doubt marks the tomb of Bishop DE LUCY, the builder of all this part of the cathedral. It was long shewn as that of King Lucius.

XXVII. Between the pillars of the central aisle, are the beautiful *chantries of Waynflete and Beaufort*. [Plate XX.] That on the north side is Bishop WAYNFLETE's (1447—1486). Great part of the effigy is modern, the head especially having been much restored. It was greatly injured, as was the chantry itself, by Cromwell's troops. The whole has been carefully re-

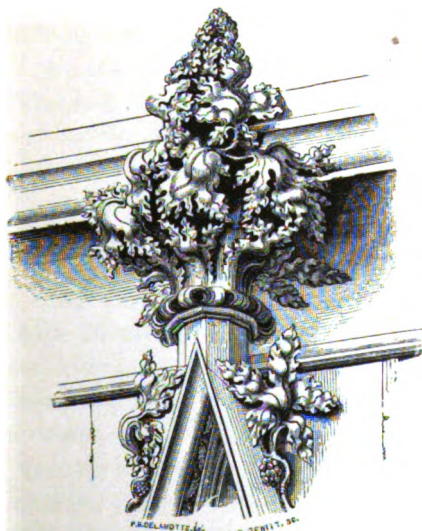
stored and repaired at the expense of Magdalen College, Oxford, the Bishop's foundation. The delicacy and beauty of the canopy should be especially noticed. The lily is Waynflete's device. (For his life see Part II.) On the opposite side, south, is the chantry of Cardinal BEAUFORT (1404—1447), whose deathbed will at once rise to the memory of all readers of Shakespeare. His chantry resembles that of Waynflete; but the differences are worth notice,—the great value of both of these examples arising from their well-ascertained date. Beaufort's chantry has been much mutilated. The countenance of his effigy (which is in cardinal's robes) by no means sustains "the dark portraiture which has reached us from the poetry of Shakespeare and the pencil of Reynolds," which, we are assured from other sources, is not to be credited. (See Part II.) The statue against the south wall of the cathedral, in a line with Beaufort's chantry, is that of SIR JOHN CLOBERY (died 1686), one of those who assisted in bringing about the restoration of Charles II. The style of this monument is *not* worthy of imitation.

XXVIII. Between these chantries is the thirteenth-century *effigy* of a knight in chain mail and cross-legged, very perfect, and a good example. There is reason to believe that it represents Sir Arnald de Gavaston, father of Peter de Gavaston, the favourite of Edward II.<sup>d</sup> The wall in front of this effigy, and at the back of the choir, is decorated with a series of *nine tabernacles*, [Plate XXI.],

<sup>d</sup> See an interesting paper, by W. S. Walford, Esq., in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xv.



FRAGMENT IN THE FERETORY.



FINIAL ON THE BACK OF THE REREDOS.



which "are beautiful specimens of Edwardian work, and well deserve study."—*Willis*. Each tabernacle contains two pedestals, under which are inscribed the names of the persons whose images once stood on them. Besides the Saviour and the Virgin, the list includes all the kings before the Conquest who were either buried in, or benefactors to, Winchester Cathedral. A low arch under the tabernacles opens to the door called "The Holy Hole" (under the platform of the feretory), probably as well as from its vicinity to the great shrine of St. Swithun, above it, as from its leading into the crypt beneath. The inscription over it ran as follows:—

"Corpora sanctorum sunt hic in pace sepulta  
Ex meritis quorum fulgent miracula multa."

XXIX. Beyond the pier which connects De Lucy's work with the presbytery, on the north side, is the chantry of Bishop GARDINER (1531—1555), the famous "hammer of heretics,"—a man, says Fuller, "to be traced like the fox, backward." (See Part II.) Mr. Ruskin's "pestilent Renaissance" is here fully developed. On the opposite side of the presbytery, and parallel with that of Gardiner, is the chantry of Bishop Fox (1500—1528), the most sumptuous and elaborate, though perhaps not the best in design, in the cathedral. It has been restored throughout by Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the Bishop's foundation. The pelican was Fox's device. In an arched recess below is an emaciated figure, wrapped in a winding-sheet. All the details—pedestals, string-courses, bands and niches—deserve the most careful attention.

The series of chantries in the cathedral begins with that of Bishop Edington (in the nave), and ends with that of Bishop Gardiner. The visitor should compare the whole series, carefully marking their dates, and observing the gradual changes of style.

XXX. The south wall of the *south aisle of the presbytery* is of late Perpendicular character as far as the transept. On the opposite wall is an inscription recording that within it is the heart of Bishop Nicholas of Ely, died 1280, "whose body is at Waverley" (the Cistercian house of that name in Surrey); and another above a marble tomb, marking the resting-place of Richard, "son of William the Conqueror, and Duke of Beornia." The 'Dux Beornie,' however, is an error, probably dating from the time of Bishop Fox, and arising from the misinterpretation of an older inscription, which recorded that 'Duke Beorn,' nephew of Canute, was buried here. Like his brother Rufus, Richard was killed in the New Forest, and his death was looked upon as one of the many judgments which befel the Norman "lords of the chase" in that place, where, as it is asserted, churches, altars, and villages had been destroyed to make room for the wild deer.

XXXI. The *south transept*, which is now entered, resembles that on the north side in every respect, and is of the same date. In the eastern aisles are two chapels, formed by screens of stone tracery work. The south is called *Silkstede's* chapel, because the letters of his Christian name, Thomas, are carved on the cornice of the screen, the M.A. forming the monogram of

his patroness, the Virgin, being distinguished from the rest. Remark also the skein of silk, which is his rebus. The beautiful iron-work of the chapel, of late character, should also be noticed. In the transept is a bench of very rude construction, and simply ornamented; it may possibly be coeval with the transept itself. Here is also the monument of SIR ISAAC TOWNSEND, died 1731; and a plain black marble slab in Prior Silkstede's chapel marks the tomb of another Isaac, whose name is somewhat better known. It is that of ISAAC WALTON (died Dec. 15, 1683), the "prince of fishermen," and the author, besides his "Angler," of those "Lives" which will endure as long as the English language. The inscription on the slab (which, it has been suggested, may have been written by Bishop Ken) runs thus:—

"Alas! Hee's gone before,  
Gone, to returne noe more.  
Our panting Breasts aspire  
After their aged Sire,  
Whose well-spent Life did last  
Full ninety yeares, and past.  
But now he hath begun  
That which will ne'ere be done,  
Crown'd with eternall blisse,  
We wish our souls with his."

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"Votis modestis sic fierunt liberi."

Walton died at the house of his son-in-law, Dr. Hawkins, Prebendary of Winchester.

XXXII. The ancient sacristy, in the west aisle of the south transept, is now used as the *chapter-house* and *library*, the great treasure of which is a superbly

illuminated Vulgate, in three folio volumes. It has usually been considered the work of different periods; but Dr. Waagen is "inclined to pronounce it, judging from forms and execution, entirely the work of the first half of the twelfth century." It much resembles another Vulgate in the library of St. Geneviève at Paris, the writer of which styles himself "*Manerius scriptor Cantuariensis*." This latter, however, is of the first half of the thirteenth century.

XXXIII. The archæologist should visit the *roofs* of the cathedral. In the roof of the nave may be seen the original Norman shafts running up above Wykeham's vault, and in those of the aisles the Norman arches of the triforium, best developed at the east end of the nave aisle-roof. The transept roofs shew to this day what Bishop Walkelin did with Hempage-wood. (See Pt. II.) From the leads of the tower there is a very striking view over the city and its environs.

XXXIV. The *crypt* is entered from the north transept, and extends to the eastern extremity of the church. It is, except under the Perpendicular portion of the Lady-chapel, rude Norman, of precisely the same character as the transepts, and of the same date. Like other crypts, it serves to shew us the original plan of the Norman church, which, it thus appears, "was terminated eastward by a circular apse, round which the aisles of the Norman presbytery were continued; and a small round-ended (Lady?) chapel extended as far as the western arch of the present one." All this part of the upper church was, of course, removed when Bishop

de Lucy's work and the subsequent Decorated piers of the presbytery were built. The crypt itself, dark and massive, is even more suggestive of a remote age than the transepts, though of the same date.

XXXV. Leaving the cathedral by the western door, the visitor should pass into the *close*, on the south side. Upon the buttress at the south-west corner is an anagram forming the words "Illac precator, hac viator, ambula;" and in the "slype," or short passage in front, another with the date 1632. The words here run,— "Sacra sit illa choro, serva fit ista foro." The Close, which is now entered, occupies the site of the monastic cloisters, which, with the chapter-house and other buildings, were taken down by Bishop Horne in 1563. Traces of these, however, and considerable remains of other parts of the priory, the principal of which is the present deanery, formerly the prior's house, remain, and should be noticed. The priory consisted of a prior and sixty monks (Benedictines). Its annual revenue, at the dissolution, amounted to £1,500, and was then applied to the support of the new chapter, consisting of a dean, prebendaries, and canons.

XXXVI. The site of the *chapter-house* is in (what was once) the garden of the Deanery, immediately fronting the south transept. It was separated from the transept by the slype, which led to the cemetery and infirmary. The row of Norman arches, which now open to the Close, formed the original entrance from the cloister. There is another arcade, tolerably perfect, on the north side (over the stalls of the bre-

thren), within. Adjoining the entrance arches is an Early English doorway, the entrance to the dormitory, of elegant design, with a cinquefoiled head. The entrance to the prior's house, now the *deanery*, beyond, is *temp.* Henry III., and consists of three acute arches, originally all open, and forming a sort of vestibule to the house. They were probably connected with the cloisters. The niches above are curious, and should be noticed. The prior's hall, within the house, still remains, with a fine roof and windows, but has been divided into several apartments. It is of the fifteenth century.

XXXVII. What is now the *Dean's stable*, south of the Deanery, is "a curious wooden structure, with the original wooden roof of the time of Edward I. It is now divided by a floor and partitions, but must have been originally one large room. The corbel-heads represent, as usual, a king and a bishop. The work is of rude character—more like a good barn roof than that of a hall."—*J. H. Parker*. It may have been the *Strangers' Hall*. On the west side of the Close, opposite the Deanery, under one of the canon's houses, are some vaulted apartments, probably once connected with the kitchen and buttery. The walls of this house are of the thirteenth century, and in the south gable is a graceful rose window. In what is now the kitchen are the carved legs of a stone table of the thirteenth century.

# WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

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## PART II.

*History of the See, with Notices of the principal Bishops.*

**A** BRITISH Church, said, like that of Canterbury, to have been founded by the shadowy Lucius, King of the Britons, existed, according to early tradition, in the Roman *Venta Belgarum*. It is said to have been completed in the year 169; to have been destroyed during the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 266); and to have been restored in the year 293, when it was dedicated in honour of St. Amphibalus, one of the martyrs in the late persecution. When the Brito-Roman city, in 495, was taken by the Saxon leader Cerdic, who had landed on the adjoining coast in the same year, the church of St. Amphibalus was converted into a "temple of Dagon;" in which condition it remained until the arrival of Birinus, the first apostle of Wessex, in 635, and the consequent conversion of the king, Kynegils, to Christianity.

For this period, nearly a century and a-half, during which the kingdom of Wessex had been gradually extending its boundaries, its chiefs enjoyed "a wild and terrible reputation" for untamed and untameable paganism. They continued to maintain it long after the landing of Augustine in Kent; and although Christianity spread thence throughout the Eastern kingdoms, and into Northumbria, no apostle of the faith had ventured to penetrate into Wessex, or to

attack the descendants of Cerdic in their principal stronghold at Winchester. These fierce chieftains seem to have been the champions of old Teutonic heathendom until their final conversion, an event for which the way was apparently prepared by their connection with the royal house of Northumbria and its Christian king, Oswald,—the Bretwalda, and the most powerful of the Saxon princes.

[A.D. 635.] In the year 635, Birinus, a Frank by birth, and a brother of the same Benedictine monastery—that of St. Andrew on the Cælian—from which Augustine and his companions had been despatched forty years before by Gregory the Great, was sent by Pope Honorius the First with instructions to preach the gospel in the utmost extremities of Britain, where no Christian teacher had hitherto penetrated. He landed on the Hampshire coast; and proceeding to Winchester, seems to have found there Oswald of Northumbria, who was about to marry the daughter of Kynegils, King of Wessex. Birinus, who had been consecrated district-bishop (*chorepiscopus*) by Asterius, Bishop of Genoa, finding the whole country pagan, resolved to commence his labours with Wessex. To whatever circumstances it was owing, the conversion of Kynegils speedily followed; and he was raised from the baptismal font by the Christian Oswald. As usual, the conversion of the King was the signal for that of his chief nobles, and of many of the people. Dagon, under whose name we are to recognise Woden and his brethren, was expelled from the church of St. Amphibalus. The monks, who had formed part of the earlier establishments, were, by the advice of Birinus, replaced by the Benedictines who had accompanied him from Rome; and, says the monastic historian of Winchester, the whole of the land for the space of seven miles round the city was assigned by Kynegils for their support, and for that of the episcopal seat. The polluted cathedral itself was pulled down, and a new church commenced. In the meantime, the episcopal seat was temporarily fixed at Dorchester

in Oxfordshire<sup>a</sup>; and although Birinus dedicated the new 'basilica' at Winchester in the sixth year of Kynewald, son and successor of Kynegils, the 'almifluus Confessor' never assumed it as the place of his see, but was himself buried at Dorchester. He is said by Bede to have built and dedicated many churches, and to have converted numbers of the people,—outlying villagers in the Marks, among whom his labours must have been more difficult, and far more perilous, than in the towns and royal villas of Kynegils.

Whether Birinus was compelled to address the people through an interpreter, is uncertain. His successor, ÆGILBERT, a Frank like himself, was, beyond a doubt, very imperfectly acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon language; and the King, Coinwalh, finding that much difficulty arose from his ignorance, divided the kingdom into two dioceses, leaving Ægilbert at Dorchester, and appointing WINI, a native Saxon, to the other see, the place of which was fixed at Winchester. Ægilbert, offended by this arrangement, which was made without his concurrence, withdrew to his native country, where he became Bishop of Paris. Wini himself was subsequently expelled from his new see by Coinwalh, and is said to have 'bought' the bishopric of London from Wulfhere of Mercia. Wessex was for some time without a bishop, until Ægilbert, whom Coinwalh in vain entreated to return, recommended his nephew, LOTHAIRE, as a proper person to be ordained in his room. He was accordingly consecrated by Theodore of Tarsus, then Archbishop of Canterbury.

[A.D. 674.] Lothaire died at Dorchester in the year 674. His successor, HEDDA, who had been Abbot of Whitby in Northumbria, removed the episcopal seat to Winchester, as had been originally intended; and translated thither the

<sup>a</sup> A place of considerable importance during the British and Roman periods. It is called by Bede *Civitas Dorcinia*.

bones of St. Birinus<sup>b</sup>. From this time the succession of bishops of Winchester continues unbroken; but under the next bishop, DANIEL, the see was permanently divided. Hitherto, except during the temporary appointment of Wini, the bishopric, as was the case elsewhere in England, had been coextensive with the kingdom. Wessex, however, had materially enlarged its boundaries since the conversion of Kynegils; the original provisions had become insufficient; and, accordingly, a second see was established by King Ina at Sherborne in Dorsetshire,—the first bishop of which was the celebrated Aldhelm, the master and preserver of the great cycle of learning in the South, as Bede was in the North of England<sup>c</sup>.

[A.D. 837.] Of the bishops of Winchester between Daniel and HELMSTAN, who died in the year 837, little more than the names has been recorded. Athelwulf, afterwards King of Wessex, and father of Alfred, is said by some of the later chroniclers to have succeeded Helmstan as bishop of Winchester, and to have been subsequently released from his orders by the Pope<sup>d</sup>. There is no sufficient authority, however, for this statement, and Helmstan's real successor was, no doubt, SWITHUN, who had been prior of the monastery attached to the cathedral. He was, say the chroniclers, "a diligent builder of churches in places where there were none before, and a repairer of those that had been destroyed or ruined. He also built a bridge on the east side of the

<sup>b</sup> The change may possibly (although this is uncertain) have been occasioned by the victories of Ethelred of Mercia, who had now (circ. 686) become the most powerful king in England. No bishops of Dorchester can be clearly recognised from Hedde until the year 752, when the see was certainly within the bounds of Mercia, and Offa appointed Berthun bishop. After the Conquest, Remigius removed the chief place of his see from Dorchester to Lincoln. (See that Cathedral.)

<sup>c</sup> See *Salisbury* for further notices of the bishopric of Sherborne.

<sup>d</sup> See the arguments for and against Ethelwulf's priesthood in Pauli, *Life of Alfred*, sect. 1.

city, and during the work he made a practice of sitting there to watch the workmen, that his presence might stimulate their industry." One of his most edifying miracles is said to have been performed at this bridge, where he restored an old woman's basket of eggs, which the workmen had maliciously broken. It is more certain that Swithun was one of the most learned men of his time, and the tutor, successively, of Athelwulf, and of his son, the illustrious Alfred. He died in the year 862, and was buried, according to his own desire, in the churchyard of Winchester, where "passers by might tread on his grave, and where the rain from the eaves might fall on it." His reputation as a weather saint is said to have arisen from the translation of his body, from this lowly grave to its golden shrine within the cathedral, having been delayed by incessant rain. Hence the weather on the festival of his translation (July 15) indicated, according to the old rhyme, what it would be for the next forty days:—

"St. Swithun's day, if thou dost rain,  
For forty days it will remain;  
St. Swithun's day, if thou be fair,  
For forty days 'twill rain na mair."

June and July, however, have their weather saints in the calendars of France and of Belgium, as well as in those of other parts of Europe:—

"Quand il pleut à la Saint Gervais (June 19)  
Il pleut quarante jours après,"—

is the French proverb. *Wedermaend*, the 'month of storms,' was the old Flemish name of July.

[A.D. 879.] **DENEWULF**, who became Bishop of Winchester about 879, is said by an ancient tradition (which will not bear sifting) to have been the swineherd at whose cottage, in the Isle of Athelney, Alfred took shelter during his retreat. It was Denewulf's wife, says the story, who reproved the King so sharply for allowing the cakes to burn. Alfred had been greatly struck by Denewulf's natural

powers and intelligence; and on his return to power, caused him to be ordained, and appointed him Bishop of Winchester. His wife we must suppose was dead; at all events, the second part of the tradition takes small account of her. Dates, however, to say nothing of other difficulties, render the truth of this story impossible; although Dene-wulf was very probably of humble origin.

[A.D. 963.] **ETHELWOLD**, Abbot of Abingdon, became Bishop of Winchester in the year 963. He repaired throughout, if he did not completely rebuild, the cathedral and monastery; removing into the former the body of St. Swithun, together with those of other sainted bishops of less note. The new church was dedicated, in honour of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, Oct. 20, 980, by Archbishop Dunstan and eight other bishops, in presence of King Ethelred, and of nearly every 'duke, noble, and abbot' of England. Prodigious feasting succeeded the dedication; and Wolstan, a contemporary monk, has supplied, in a poetic life of Ethelwold, a most curious description of the new buildings\*. Ethelwold was himself a workman, like his contemporary, Dunstan; and before his elevation to the see of Winchester, "the malignity of the adversary endeavoured to compass his destruction by allowing a great post to fall upon him, whilst the holy man was working at construction." Notwithstanding his zeal for the rebuilding and decoration of his cathedral, he is said to have sold for the benefit of the poor, in a time of famine, many of the precious ornaments belonging to it,—asserting that it was possible to replace them, but that a life once lost could never be restored.

[A.D. 1032—1047.] **ALDWIN**, or **ÆELFWIN**, was the bishop on whose account Emma, mother of the Confessor, was compelled to undergo the fiery ordeal in the nave of the Saxon cathedral. He bestowed on the church of Winchester

\* See it in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.*, or extracts in *Willis*.

nine manors from his own patrimony,—including Stoneham and the two Meons. His successor,—

[A.D. 1047—1069.] STIGAND, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1052, but never resigned the bishopric of Winchester. See *Canterbury* for a notice of the life of this prelate, whose insatiable avarice, and the consequent wealth which he had collected, combined with his Saxon birth and turbulence to bring upon him the hostility of the Conqueror. He died in prison, it is said of voluntary starvation, at Winchester; and according to Malmesbury, a key was found on his body after his death, which opened a casket containing a clue to the various places in which his enormous treasures had been hidden, a great part of them under the beds of rivers. They fell, of course, into the hands of William. Stigand was buried in the cathedral of Winchester, where his tomb, which has now disappeared, was to be seen in Godwin's time.

[A.D. 1070—1097.] WALKELIN, the first Norman bishop, was of noble birth and related to the Conqueror. His brother, Simeon, was first made Prior of Winchester, and afterwards Bishop of Ely. He rebuilt the cathedral from the foundations, as has already been mentioned, (Pt. I.) W. Rufus granted Walkelin half a hide in the Isle of Wight, with license to search for and excavate stone for his new cathedral, “per planum et silvam: si silva tantæ parvitatis fuerit ut per eam transeuntes cornua cervi appareant.” Of the manner in which he procured timber for the completion of the church, the following story is told. The Conqueror had granted him as much wood from the forest of Hanepinges (Hempage-wood, on the old Alresford road) as his carpenters could take in four days and nights. “But the Bishop,” says the old annalist, “collected an innumerable troop of carpenters, and within the assigned time cut down the whole wood, and carried it off to Winchester.” Presently after, the King, passing by Hanepinges, was struck with amazement, and cried out, — “Am I bewitched, or

have I taken leave of my senses? Had I not once a most delectable wood in this spot?" But when he understood the truth, he was violently enraged. Then the Bishop put on a shabby vestment, and made his way to the King's feet, humbly begging to resign the episcopate, and merely requesting that he might retain his royal friendship and chaplaincy. And the King was appeased, only observing,— "I was as much too liberal in my grant as you were too greedy in availing yourself of it." The new cathedral was completed in 1093. In 1098 Bishop Walkelin died, having accomplished in his church the reformation which was the first object of nearly all the Norman bishops. "He greatly improved," says the annalist of Winchester, "the Church of Winton in devotion, in the number of its monks, and in the buildings of the house (monastery)." He was buried in the nave of his cathedral.

[A.D. 1107—1128.] **WILLIAM GIFFARD**, who had been Chancellor of England under the Conqueror, was nominated Bishop of Winchester by Henry I. on the death of Walkelin. Archbishop Anselm, however, refused to consecrate him,—the question of investitures being then in full debate. Giffard accordingly declined the bishopric; greatly to the indignation of Henry, who banished him from the kingdom. The see remained vacant until 1107, when the discussion was somewhat set at rest by the Pope's decision, and Giffard was consecrated. He was the founder of the house of secular canons at St. Mary Overies in Southwark; and in the last year of his life established the Cistercian monastery of Waverley in Surrey,—the first house of the order in England. His successor was—

[A.D. 1129—1171.] **HENRY OF BLOIS**, not only the most powerful prelate who ever occupied the see of Winchester, but the most powerful Churchman of his time in England. He was the third son of Stephen, Count of Blois, by Adela, daughter of the Conqueror. Stephen, afterwards King of

' *Annales Eccles. Winton.*, ap. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i.

England, was his elder brother. Henry very early became a monk at Clugni; and held *in commendam*—which his high rank rendered easy—the bishopric of Gurton and the abbey of Glastonbury, until he was nominated Bishop of Winchester by his uncle, Henry the Beauclerc. From the moment of the King's death (Dec. 1, 1135), Henry of Blois became the leader of the English Church; and the war throughout the subsequent reign was materially influenced by him. "The splendid and opulent benefices of the Anglo-Norman Church were too rich prizes to be bestowed on accomplished scholars, profound theologians, holy monks: the bishops at the close of Henry's reign are barons rather than prelates, their palaces are castles, their retainers vassals in arms. The wars between Stephen and the Empress Matilda are episcopal, at least as much as baronial wars." Stephen was himself proposed by his brother Henry, who, as papal legate, convened a synod for the purpose, having already won to his side Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who had "two nephews, bishops of Lincoln and of Ely; one of his sons (his sons by his concubine, Maud of Ramsbury) was Chancellor, one Treasurer. Until the allegiance of the bishops to Stephen wavered, the title of Matilda was hardly dangerous to the King." Stephen, however, seems to have thought that the Church, by which he had obtained his crown, was herself far too powerful; and having arrested the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln at Oxford, he compelled them to surrender their strong castles of Newark, Salisbury, Sherborne, and Malmesbury. Bishop Henry, incensed at this attack on the Churchmen, summoned the King himself before a council at Winchester, but could effect nothing; nor was he much more successful in a private interview with Stephen, when he was accompanied by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates. "The Bishop of Ely flew to arms, threw himself into Devizes. It was only the threat to hang up his nephew which com-

• Milman, *Latin Christianity*, iii. 440.

pelled him to capitulate. It was a strange confusion: the whole of the Bishop's castles, treasures, munitions of war, were seized into the King's hands; he held them in the most rigid and inexorable grasp; yet at the same time, Stephen did public penance for having dared to lay his impious hands on the 'Christs of the Lord.' The revolt of the Bishop of Ely was only the signal for the general war; Stephen was taken in the battle of Lincoln; his defeated army was under the walls of that city to chastise the Bishop<sup>1</sup>. Bishop Henry, as papal legate, recognised Matilda; and if "her pride had not alienated him, as her exactions did the citizens of London, she might have obtained at once full possession of the throne." But he soon returned to the party of Stephen; and when Wolvesey Castle in Winchester was besieged by Robert of Gloucester, leader of Matilda's troops, Bishop Henry himself headed the body of Londoners who repelled the attack, and who subsequently took Robert prisoner on his retreat to Bristol. The final composition by which Stephen retained the crown for his life, to be succeeded by Henry, son of Matilda, was mainly brought about by Bishop Henry of Blois.

The martial character of this bishop was by no means exceptional; since nearly all the English prelates of that time, according to the author of the *Gesta Stephani*, "wore arms, mingled in war, and indulged in all the cruelties and exactions of war." Among them, Bishop Henry seems to have been one of the best. Besides rebuilding Wolvesey and Farnham Castles, as well as other strongholds and manor-houses belonging to the see, he was the original founder of the beautiful hospital of St. Cross,—a more worthy memorial. For his cathedral he procured the foot of St. Agatha; and *abstulit*, 'conveyed,' in Pistol's phrase, the thumb from the hand of St. James at Reading. On Whitsunday, 1162, Henry of Blois, now aged, and fitter for the mass-book than the spear, consecrated Becket Arch-

<sup>1</sup> Milman.

bishop, (the see of London being vacant). He lived to witness the whole of the Archbishop's remarkable career, and to reprove Henry II. for his murder with solemn warning, when that King visited the Bishop of Winchester on his death-bed in 1171. Pope Lucius III., himself a warrior, and killed (Feb. 25, 1145) in an attempt to storm the Roman Capitol, is said (but with doubtful authority) to have meditated erecting Winchester into a third archbishopric, assigning to it the seven bishoprics which formerly belonged to Wessex: but although Henry of Blois, in Fuller's words, "outshined Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury," both as papal legate, and by vigour of personal character, he remained subject to him, at least in appearance.

A remarkable enamelled plate, representing this Bishop, is preserved in the British Museum, and has been figured in the "Archæological Journal," and in Labarte's "Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages." The figure of the Bishop, prostrate, and carrying what seems to be the book of the Gospels, is surrounded by inscriptions not very readily interpreted. The last two lines, alluding to the vast political influence of Henry of Blois, run thus,—

*"Ne tamen acceleret, ne suscitetur Anglia luctus  
Cui pacem vel bellum, motusve quiesce per illum."*

[A.D. 1173—1188.] The see remained vacant for three years after the death of Henry of Blois. RICHARD TOCLIVE was then elected by the monks. He served as one of Henry the Second's 'Justices Itinerant' for the Western counties, and had been greatly opposed to Becket. After the Archbishop's martyrdom and canonization, Bishop Toclive sought to atone for his sins by causing all newly erected churches in his diocese to be dedicated to the new saint,—as, for example, at Portsmouth, and at Newport in the Isle of Wight. His successor,—

[A.D. 1189—1204.] GODFREY DE LUCY, was the builder of the beautiful eastern portions of the cathedral, (see Pt. I.)

His father was Richard de Lucy, Grand Justiciary of England, and "*Lux Luciorum*," as his epitaph ran in the priory of Lesnes in Kent, which he founded, and to which his son, Bishop Godfrey, was a great benefactor. De Lucy was succeeded by—

[A.D. 1205—1238.] PETER DE ROCHES, or DE RUPIBUS, born of a knightly family in Poitou, of which province he became archdeacon and treasurer. He was consecrated Bishop of Winchester at Rome, in the autumn of 1205; one of the first and most powerful of those 'foreign Churchmen' whose oppressions and exactions were afterwards among the chief causes of the rising under Simon de Montfort. Throughout, and in spite of, all the insults and oppressions heaped on the Church by King John, Bishop Peter of Winchester, together with two other prelates, Grey of Norwich and Philip of Durham, continued the firm partizans and unscrupulous executors of all the King's measures. They figure accordingly in the satirical songs of the time; in one of which the Bishop of Winchester, the royal treasurer, is thus referred to:—

"Wintoniensis armiger  
Præsidet ad saccharium;  
Ad computandum impiger,  
Piger ad evangelium;  
Regis revolvens rotulum.  
Sic lucrum Lucam superat,  
Marco, marcam præponderat,  
Et libræ librum subjicit!."

During all the contest with Innocent III., and afterwards with the barons, De Roches remained constant to the King. In 1214, after John's submission to the Pope, and whilst the barons were preparing for the struggle which ended in the grant of the Great Charter, he was made Grand Justiciary of England,—not without much remonstrance and ill-will on the part of the native nobles. After John's

<sup>1</sup> Wright, Political Songs. (Camden Society.)

death, De Roches continued in power, and succeeded William, Earl Marshal, as guardian of the young king, Henry III. The exercise of the royal authority, however, was in the hands of the famous Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, between whom and the Bishop of Winchester—one a native, the other a foreigner—there was a perpetual feud. Accordingly, in 1226, the warlike Bishop (*Wintoniensis armiger*) found it necessary to withdraw for a time from the kingdom; and together with William Brewer, Bishop of Exeter, led a body of crusaders from England to the Holy Land, where, according to Matthew Paris, De Roches did effectual service as well by his sword as by his counsels. He was present during the visit of the Emperor Frederick II., (September 1228—May 1229,) who consulted the English bishops before concluding the treaty with Sultan Kameel, by which the latter agreed to surrender the Holy City. Their subsequent testimony was of some importance in the great contest between the Pope and the Emperor<sup>k</sup>. On his return, after five years' absence, Bishop Peter was received with especial favour by the King. The troubles which, during the following years (1232—1234), fell upon Hubert de Burgh and his partizans, were excited by the Bishop of Winchester, who in his turn provoked the indignation and almost a rising of the people by his patronage of foreigners,—one of the great evils under which the country suffered throughout this period. Vast numbers of his countrymen (Poitevins) were invited over by De Roches; the chief offices of state were conferred on them, and the royal revenues were employed to enrich them. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Edmund) at length insisted on their dismissal, to which the King only submitted after threats of excommunication. Peter de Roches died at his castle of Farnham in June, 1238, and was interred in his own cathedral, though in what part is not certainly known.

<sup>k</sup> See, for ample details, Milman's *Latin Christianity*, bk. ix. ch. 13.

Two Premonstratensian monasteries, one at Hales and another at Titchfield, were founded by De Roches; besides the hospital or 'Domus Dei,' of which some remains still exist at Portsmouth, and the house of the Augustinian Canons at Selborne, the history of which has been carefully detailed by Gilbert White.

The death of Bishop de Roches was the signal for great troubles at Winchester. Henry III. insisted that William of Valence, uncle of the Queen, should be elected; but the monks, declining him as 'a man of blood,' chose—

[A.D. 1244—1249.] WILLIAM DE RALEY, Bishop of Norwich, to whom, however, the King would not restore the temporalities. More than five years passed in contest between the monks and the King, who refused to accept as bishop, Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, elected by them in the place of Raley. Raley was then re-elected; and after in vain attempting to enter his episcopal city, (upon which he laid an interdict,) retired to France, whence at length, by the good offices of the French King and of Archbishop Boniface, he was recalled, and permitted to enter on his episcopate. His death took place at Tours in 1249; but was followed by small improvement in the state of things at Winchester. At the instance of the King, who himself entered the chapter-house where the monks were assembled, and pleaded his cause,—

[A.D. 1250—1261.] ETHELMAR, son of Hugh, Earl of March, who had married Isabella, widow of King John, and consequently half-brother of Henry III., was elected. A Poitevin, like the rest of the Queen's relatives, he shared all their vices, and in all the hatred with which they were regarded by the English whom they oppressed. The benefices possessed by Ethelmar before his election to Winchester were so numerous and so rich, that his revenue was said to exceed that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In order to retain them, he was never consecrated Bishop of Winchester; but as bishop-elect duly received the revenues

of the see. His violence and rapacity are said to have excited the final storm against the Poitevins; and with his brothers, the Lusignans and William de Valence, he was compelled, by a decree of the Parliament called at Oxford in 1258, under the influence of Simon de Montfort, to quit the kingdom. Much of his treasure was stolen at Dover, whilst Ethelmar was waiting for a passage. In 1261 he died at Paris, whence his heart was brought to Winchester for interment. The half figure in the north wall of the ambulatory (see Part I. § 25) is supposed to mark its resting-place.

For the next century the bishops of Winchester were of no special mark.

[A.D. 1265—1268.] JOHN OF OXFORD bought his dignity for 6,000 marks from the pope; was consecrated at Rome, and died at Viterbo in 1268.

[A.D. 1268—1280.] NICHOLAS OF ELY was buried at Waverley; his heart in his own cathedral, as the inscription indicates on the wall of the south choir aisle.

[A.D. 1280—1304.] JOHN DE PONTISSARA, intruded by the Pope contrary to Edward I.'s wishes, who harassed him in many ways, until, to purchase peaceable possession of the rest of his temporalities, he resigned the manor of Swainston in the Isle of Wight to the King, and paid a fine of £2,000. Worsley, *super*, p. 255.

[A.D. 1305—1316.] HENRY WOODLOCK set the crown on the head of Edward II.

[A.D. 1316—1320.] JOHN SANDALL.

[A.D. 1320—1323.] REGINALD DE ASSER was intruded by the Pope.

[A.D. 1323—1333.] JOHN DE STRATFORD, also intruded by the Pope, was translated to Canterbury in 1333. (See CANTERBURY.)

[A.D. 1333—1345.] ADAM DE ORLTON is the prelate who, as Bishop of Hereford, is said to have directed, by an ambiguous letter, the murder of Edward II. His election to

Winchester was for some time resisted by Edward III. He is said to have died blind, and to have been interred in the chapel now called that of the Guardian Angels. A series of far worthier and more distinguished prelates commences with his successor,

[A.D. 1346—1366.] **WILLIAM EDINGDON**, born of no very distinguished parentage at Edingdon in Wiltshire, and educated at Oxford. He became successively Treasurer (1350) and Chancellor (1357) of England; and was nominated Archbishop of Canterbury in the year of his death; a dignity which he is said to have declined with the well-known saying that "if Canterbury were the higher rack, Winchester was the better manger." In his native town of Edingdon, he founded and richly endowed a convent of 'Bonhommes,' the church of which still remains, a very interesting example of the latest Decorated period, already shewing indications of a change of style. Edingdon's work in the nave of his own cathedral, and his chantry still remaining there, have been noticed at length in Part I. §§ 3, 6, 11. Notwithstanding his other architectural labours, he left many of the buildings belonging to his see in a dilapidated condition; on which account his successor, Wykeham, recovered a sum of £1,662 from his executors; besides large numbers of cattle, which had disappeared from the various farms of the bishopric.

[A.D. 1367—1404.] **WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM**, the magnificent prelate who, of all the bishops of Winchester, has most closely associated his name with his episcopal city and its cathedral, was born in 1324, most probably in the little village of Wykeham, near Tichfield; though even this is doubtful. Of his parents, and their position in life, nothing is known beyond their Christian names, John and Sybilla. Their son was patronized at an early age by Nicholas Uvedale, Governor of Winchester Castle, who educated him at Winchester and Oxford, presented him to Bishop Edingdon, and at the age of 22 (in 1346) to Edward III.

At this time Wykeham's great qualification for court favour—besides a comely person and a ready wit—was his skill in architecture, of which the King speedily availed himself. Wykeham was the great architect and engineer of that warlike reign; and for the next twenty years was constantly employed in designing and directing the buildings and defences of the various royal castles. For seven years he superintended the great works of Edward III. at Windsor; where the eastern ward, or bailey, containing the college of the newly-established Order of the Garter, was built from his designs. This work was the real foundation of Wykeham's fortunes; who signified as much by an ambiguous inscription on one of the towers,—“This made Wykeham.” The castle of Queenborough, in the isle of Sheppey, was entirely designed by him; and those of Winchester, Porchester, Wolvesey, Leeds, and Dover were all fortified, enlarged, and repaired by his master-hand. In the meantime, his great general talents and capacities had become clearly apparent. “He reigned at court,” says Froissart; “every thing was done by him, and nothing without him.” He became Dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand in London; Archdeacon successively of Lincoln, Northampton, and Buckingham, and Provost of Wells; besides devouring for his single share twelve canonries and three rectories,—a very ecclesiastical dragon of Wantley. Few pluralists, however, have been so worthy of their good fortunes as Wykeham. He was already Royal Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Seal, when in 1367 he was consecrated Bishop of Winchester, and in the following year made Chancellor of England. He was now at the head of all affairs of state; but during the Parliament of 1371, when Wycliffe had already attacked the mendicant orders, and the popular mind had begun to look with jealousy on the power of the hierarchy, the Commons addressed the Crown with a remonstrance against the appointment of Churchmen to all the great dignities of state, and a petition

that laymen might be chosen for those secular offices. The movement was generally attributed to John of Gaunt, the patron of Chaucer, and the protector of Wycliffe against the hierarchy. The blow was aimed principally at Wykeham, and was not without effect. He ceased to be Chancellor; and the Bishop of Exeter (Brantyngham) resigned the Treasurership. There is a manifest allusion to Wykeham in the following passage from Wycliffe, the date of which is doubtful: "Benefices, instead of being bestowed on poor clerks, are heaped on a kitchen clerk, or one wise in building castles, or in worldly business<sup>1</sup>."

During the last years of Edward III., "the sad and gloomy close of that reign of splendour and of glory," Wykeham, one of the firmest and most powerful adherents of the Black Prince, was in fierce opposition to John of Gaunt, by whom and by Alice Perrers the old King was absolutely governed. On the death of the Black Prince, whose party had hitherto succeeded in keeping the upper hand, John of Gaunt came into full power, and "Wykeham was impeached on eight articles of mal-administration, amounting to treason, or misprision of treason. The temporalities of the see were seized into the hands of the King . . . The Bishop of Winchester was excepted from an act of grace issued on account of the jubilee—the fiftieth year of the reign of King Edward . . . . Before the King's death, however, almost his last act, whether to propitiate Heaven, or still but as an instrument in the hands of others, was the restitution of the temporalities of the Bishop of Winchester, under certain conditions which shew the vast opulence of that prelate." "It is difficult not to trace some latent though obscure connection between the persecution of William of Wykeham and the proceedings against John Wycliffe. It was the inevitable collision between the old and the new opinions. Wykeham, the splendid, munificent, in character blameless prelate, was wise enough to devote

<sup>1</sup> Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vi. p. 109.

his vast riches to the promotion of learning, and by the foundation of noble colleges was striving to continue the spell of the hierarchical power over the human mind. Wycliffe, seeing the more common abuse of that wealth by prelates of baser and more sordid worldliness, sought the interests of Christ's religion in the depression, in the abrogation, of the mediæval hierarchy. The religious annals of England may well be proud of both<sup>m</sup>."

The accession of Richard II. shook the power of John of Gaunt; and the first act of the new reign was the full and ample pardon of Wykeham. From this time (1377) Wykeham devoted himself principally to the establishment of his new colleges, and to the improvement of his see. The first stone of New College in Oxford was laid by him in 1379, and the buildings were completed in 1386. (Some years afterwards, the Bishop's old enemy, John of Gaunt, paid a ceremonious visit to the Warden, accompanied by four knights and a long train of attendants, and was entertained with 'comfits, spices, and wine.') In 1387 the college at Winchester—intended as an introduction to that at Oxford—was begun; and completed in 1393. As early as 1373 Wykeham's plans had been devised, and his scholars gathered under temporary roofs. It need hardly be said that these great institutions, with their noble buildings and endowments, remain among the most efficient, as they certainly are the earliest, foundations of the sort in England; or that they still send forth their yearly swarms of scholars in due illustration of their founder's well-known motto, "Manners makyth Man."

In 1394, the year after the completion of the Winchester College, Wykeham commenced his works at the cathedral, (Part I. §§ 5, 6, 7.) His chantry (§ 11) was no doubt constructed during his lifetime. Besides these great works, he expended 20,000 marks in repairs of the different castles and palaces belonging to the see. The great road from

<sup>m</sup> Milman, pp. 117—119.

Winchester to London was restored at his expense. Numberless students were supported by him, and numberless poor relieved; and Fuller's eulogy of this famous Bishop, that his "benefaction to learning is not to be paralleled by any English subject, in all particulars," is probably not exaggerated. He died at his castle of Bishop's Waltham in 1404, aged 80; bequeathing considerable wealth, in spite of his vast expenditure during the latter years of his life.

[A.D. 1404—1447.] HENRY OF BEAUFORT, the

". . . . . Haughty cardinal,  
More like a soldier than a man of the Church,"—

whom Shakespeare has condemned, with very doubtful justice, to an unhappy immortality, succeeded Wykeham. Beaufort was the second son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford; and consequently uncle of Henry V. and his brothers the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, and great uncle of Henry VI. He was educated at Oxford and at Aix la Chapelle; and in 1396, while still very young, was made Bishop of Lincoln, over which diocese he presided for seven years, till on Wykeham's death in 1404 he was transferred to that of Winchester. He had already amassed, during the reign of Henry V., much of the wealth to which he afterwards owed his title of the 'Rich Cardinal;' and in order to divert an attack on the property of the Church, he is said to have lent the King, after the French wars, a sum of £20,000. He was three times Chancellor under Henry V., and once again during the minority of his successor. In 1417, Beaufort made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and on his return reached Constance, where the famous council in which Huss was condemned was still sitting, in time to allay, by his good offices, the angry feud which had broken out between the cardinals and the Emperor Sigismund, after the deposition of the rival popes. He was present at the subsequent election of Martin V.

(Otto Colonna), who, in reward for his services, offered him a cardinal's hat, and appointed him apostolic legate in England. "This usurpation of the legatine power, of late held by Chicheley, and on the undisputed primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, could not be tamely endured. Chicheley obtained from Henry V. a prohibition to the Bishop of Winchester to exercise legatine power in England. The regency, during the minority of Henry VI., would not receive Beaufort with the honours due to his rank, and demanded that he should surrender his bishopric of Winchester, vacant by his acceptance of the cardinalate." This demand, however, was subsequently withdrawn; and in 1426 Beaufort received his cardinal's hat at Calais with great solemnity. In the following year Pope Martin appointed the Cardinal, whose skill in arms was very considerable, captain-general of a crusade against the Hussites in Bohemia. "The iniquity of this act—the employment of such a man in such a service—(what said the Lollards in England?) brought its own shame and punishment. Beaufort raised money and troops in England for the crusade. By a scandalous and intricate fraud, these troops were poured into France to consolidate, defend, or advance the progress of the English arms under the Duke of Bedford." The King of France sent the bitterest complaints to Rome; and Pope Martin was compelled to condemn this act of the Cardinal, who, at last leading his troops into Bohemia, "did there better service than all the princes and generals of the empire." When the great army of the empire (Aug. 4, 1427) "fled before the Hussites without striking a blow, abandoning all their treasures, munitions, carriages, cannon, Henry of Winchester alone, at the head of a band of English crusaders, endeavoured, but in vain, to arrest the utter rout."

The Cardinal returned to plunge into the disturbed politics of England and of France. He was the only English pre-

\* Milman, vi. p. 238.

• Milman, ut sup.

• Milman.

late of the infamous commission which in 1431 tried Joan of Arc, and handed her over to the secular power as a heretic; and in 1435 he was one of the English ministers at the Congress of Arras, during which the great Duke of Bedford died. The feud between the young King's

“Uncles of Gloster and of Winchester,  
The special watchmen of our English weal,”—

commenced at once on the death of Henry V.; and numberless skirmishes between ‘blue coats and tawney coats’ (the first the livery of Gloster, the second of Winchester as a Churchman) had disturbed the streets of London and of Westminster (see Shakespeare’s “King Hen. VI.,” Parts I. and II.,—Archbishop Chicheley is said to have interposed eight times in one day between the Duke and the Bishop, and their retainers,) before, in 1426, Bedford presided at the parliament of Leicester, where the contest between the Protector Duke and the Cardinal was solemnly arbitrated. After Bedford’s death, however, it raged far more fiercely; the party of which Gloster was the head opposing all peace with France, whilst the Cardinal laboured in an opposite direction. The marriage of Henry with Margaret of Anjou was arranged by him in this interest. The disgrace of the Duchess of Gloster was, it has been thought, directed and brought about by Beaufort; and the death of Gloster himself,—the ‘good Duke Humphrey,’—who was found dead in his bed, after he had been arrested (1447) on a charge of high treason, has also been laid, with whatever justice, to the account of the Cardinal. Within six weeks Beaufort himself died, having, it is said, caused his obsequies to be celebrated in his presence a short time before his death. Shakespeare found the very meagre outline of his famous scene (“Hen. VI.,” Part II., Act 3, scene 3.)—one of those which “stand in the place of real history, and almost supersede its authority,”—in Hall; who describes the ‘rich Cardinal’ as lamenting that he should die, when “if the whole realm would save

his life, he was able by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it." Of the remorse and despair so wonderfully delineated by Shakespeare, there is not a word; and so far from "dying and making no sign," Beaufort's deathbed was peculiarly calm and collected. "*Utinam ab aliis,*" says one who witnessed it, "*mirandum, factum gloriosi et Catholici viri*." The special charge against him seems to have been his great wealth. "Firm of purpose, fertile in resources, unscrupulous in the choice of his instruments, unbounded in the confidence he accorded them, he must be regarded as one of the first statesmen of his age, if he does not, after the Fourth and Fifth Henrys, stand at their head." Beaufort had held his episcopate (as Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester) for exactly half a century; a longer period than any other English prelate with the exception of Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, who exceeded him by one year only. He was the second founder of the beautiful Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester; great part of which he rebuilt, and established in it an 'Almshouse of Noble Poverty.' With such a foundation as this yet speaking in his favour, and in the absence of anything like clear evidence of his complicity in the death of Gloster, we may perhaps conclude that he was not much worse than other prelates of his time; and may at least take leave of him in the words of the good King,—

"Forbear to judge; for we are sinners all."

His successor,

[A.D. 1447—1486.] WILLIAM OF WAYNFLETE, was the eldest son of Richard Pattin, a Lincolnshire esquire of good family; and took his surname of Waynflete from the place of his birth in that county. He was educated in Wykeham's colleges at Winchester and Oxford; of the former of which he subsequently became master; and was removed thence by Henry VI. to the new royal foundation

<sup>1</sup> Cont. Croyland.

<sup>2</sup> England and France under the House of Lancaster.

at Eton, of which he was appointed provost in 1443. In 1447 he was elected Bishop of Winchester, on the nomination of the King; and for nine years, from 1449 to 1459, Waynflete was Chancellor of England. Throughout the wars of York and Lancaster he remained constant to his early patron, King Henry VI.; and was consequently regarded with disfavour during the reign of his successor, Edward IV. He lived, however, to see the restoration of the red rose in the person of Henry VII., and died in 1486, the last of a triad of long-lived prelates—Wykeham, Beaufort, and himself. Waynflete's reputation for learning and piety was great. He is now, however, best remembered as the founder of Magdalene College, Oxford—a magnificent endowment, not surpassed by those of his predecessor Wykeham, or of King Henry himself. Some prescience of a great coming change was apparently felt by these prelates, as well as by Fox and Wolsey, all of whom appropriated large masses of ecclesiastical wealth and landed property to the foundation of colleges, rather than of monasteries. "It can hardly be doubted that some wise Churchman suggested the noble design of Henry VI. in the endowment of King's at Cambridge, and of Eton. Wolsey's more magnificent projects seem, as it were, to be arming the Church for some imminent contest. They reveal a sagacious foreknowledge that the Church must take new ground if she will maintain her rule over the minds of men\*."

[A.D. 1486—1492.] PETER COURTENAY was translated from Exeter, where he had been the donor of the great bell which still remains there. (See EXETER.)

• [A.D. 1493—1500.] THOMAS LANGTON was translated from Salisbury. In 1500 he was nominated to the see of Canterbury; but died of the plague before the translation could be completed. His chantry remains in the eastern part of his cathedral. (See Part I. § 26.)

[A.D. 1500—1528.] RICHARD FOX, patronized by Henry of  
 \* Milman's Lat. Christ., vi. 393.

Richmond before he became King of England, and one of the most trusted ministers throughout his reign, was translated from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and finally to Winchester. He was employed in most of the public transactions of his time; and was chosen by Henry VII. to be the godfather of his son and successor, Henry VIII. He was the founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in conjunction with Oldham, Bishop of Exeter; who, it is said, warned Bishop Fox that the monks, upon whom he had at first intended to bestow his wealth, possessed already more than they would long be permitted to retain. (See ante, BISHOP WAYNFLETE). His works in his own cathedral, and his beautiful chantry there, are noticed in Part I. §§ 18, 20, and 29. Bishop Fox first introduced Wolsey to the royal notice; and the future Cardinal was employed by Henry VII. in an embassy to the Emperor Maximilian. He was rewarded on his return by the Deanery of Lincoln. Higher dignities rapidly accumulated on him, but there was still one he greatly coveted. "All," says Fuller, "thought Bishop Fox to die too soon, one only excepted, who conceived him to live too long, viz., Thomas Wolsey, who gaped for his bishopric, and endeavoured to render him to the displeasure of King Henry VIII., whose malice this bishop, though blind, discovered, and in some measure defeated." Bishop Fox was blind for some time before his death.

[A.D. 1529—1530.] THOMAS WOLSEY succeeded Fox, but only in the year before his own death. He held Winchester *in commendam* with the archbishopric of York.

[A.D. 1531—1555.] STEPHEN GARDINER, the famous *malleus hæreticorum*, is said, though doubtfully, to have been the illegitimate son of Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury, brother of Edward the Fourth's queen. He was born in 1483, at Bury St. Edmund's, "one of the best airs in England," says Fuller, "the sharpness of which he retained

• Worthies, Lincolnshire.

in his wit and quick apprehension." After his education at Cambridge, he passed from the family of the Duke of Norfolk into that of Wolsey, by whom he was greatly favoured. His services in the cause of the Cardinal, and in that of King Henry VIII., were rewarded on the death of the former by the bishopric of Winchester, Gardiner having been appointed Archdeacon of Norwich in 1529. In his book *De Vera Obedientia*, he supported the royal supremacy claimed by Henry; and remained in tolerable favour at court during the remainder of that reign, not, however, without encountering sundry perilous storms. His 'sanguinary temper' is said to have been first shewn in his attack on Lambert; and more decidedly in the statute of the six articles, usually known as the 'bloody statute,' the famous law on which so many deniers of the 'real presence' were executed, and which was framed and projected by Gardiner. For the greater part of the reign of Edward VI., Gardiner was kept a close prisoner in the Tower, and has, at least, the merit of remaining firm to the 'old religion,' in strong contrast with the numerous company of 'chameleon statesmen' who changed their creed as often as it became necessary. In 1550 Gardiner was deprived of his bishopric, to which, however, he was restored on the accession of Queen Mary, in 1553. In September of the same year the great seal was delivered to him, and on the 1st of October he placed the crown on the head of Mary. His share in the Marian persecutions need here only be alluded to: and although it is probable that the number of victims has been greatly exaggerated, and that the personal cruelty of Gardiner and Bonner was less ferocious than is usually the fashion to represent it, there can be little doubt but that the former, at least, deserves much of the odium which popular hatred has cast upon his name. "His malice," says Fuller, "was like what is commonly said of white powder, which surely discharged the bullet, yet made no report, being secret in all his acts of cruelty."

This made him often chide Bonner, calling him 'ass,' though not so much for killing poor people, as for not doing it more cunningly". Great ill-will existed between Gardiner and Cardinal Pole, to which it is said that Cranmer owed the preservation of his life for some months. His execution did not, at all events, take place until after Gardiner's death, which occurred at Westminster in 1555. "I have sinned with Peter," he is said to have exclaimed on his death-bed, "but I have not wept with him." The story told by Fox, that Gardiner refused to dine on the day of the burning of Ridley and Latimer, until he heard from his servants, posted along the road, that the faggots were kindled about them, and that whilst at table he was seized with mortal illness, has been effectually disproved\*. After lying in state at Southwark, he was conveyed to Winchester in a car hung with black, and having his effigy in episcopal robes placed without it. His chantry has been noticed, Part I., § 29.

The see of Winchester during Gardiner's deprivation under Edward VI., was occupied by JOHN POYNET, who on Mary's accession fled to Germany, where he died in 1556. He was an earnest supporter of the Reformation, very learned, and of great powers as a preacher. A notice of his remarkable book, "On Politique Power," first published in 1558, in which he upholds the most liberal theories, and maintains "that it is lawful to kill a tyrant," will be found in Hallam, "Hist. of Literature," part II. chap. iv.

[A.D. 1556—1559.] JOHN WHITE succeeded Gardiner, but was deprived on the accession of Elizabeth. From his deprivation the uninterrupted succession of Protestant bishops commences. The half-dozen prelates who held the see during Elizabeth's reign can hardly be said, however, to have greatly illustrated it.

[A.D. 1580—1589.] ROBERT HORN, Dean of Durham under Edward VI., an exile in Germany *temp.* Mary.

\* Worthies, Suffolk.      \* See Collier, Eccles. Hist., pt. II. bk. 5.

[A.D. 1580—1583.] JOHN WATSON.

[A.D. 1583—1594.] THOMAS COWPER.

[A.D. March 1594—June 1595.] WILLIAM WICKHAM.

[A.D. January 1594—September 1596] WILLIAM DAY. See *Chichester*; Bishop George Day.

[A.D. 1597—1616.] THOMAS BILSON, whose book, "On the Perpetual Government of Christ's Church," is still of some importance. The care of revising King James's Bible was entrusted to him and to Dr. Miles Smith, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.

[A.D. 1616—1618.] JAMES MONTAGUE was translated from Bath and Wells, and, with pious painfulness, translated the works of King James into Latin.

[A.D. 1618—1626.] LANCELOT ANDREWES, by far the most distinguished prelate who has occupied the see of Winchester since the Reformation, was born in London in 1565, ("in Tower-street," says Fuller, "his father being a seaman of good repute belonging to Trinity House,") and educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; where his reputation for learning attracted the attention of Sir Francis Walsingham, who gave him the vicarage of St. Giles's, Cripple-gate, and by whose influence he was afterwards chosen prebendary of St. Paul's. He was one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains, by whom, and by her successor James I., the preaching and abilities of Andrewes were held in the highest estimation. On the accession of James, the see of Rome pronounced a censure on those of the English Catholics who took the oath of allegiance. The controversy began with James himself in his "Apology for the Oath." Cardinal Bellarmine replied with great vehemence and bitterness, under the name of Matthew Tortus; and the task of defending the royal author was assigned to Andrewes, who gave to his reply the quaint title *Tortura Torti*. Andrewes had been consecrated Bishop of Chichester in 1605; was translated to Ely in 1609; and finally to Winchester in 1618. He died

at Winchester-house, Southwark, in 1626, and was buried in St. Saviour's Church there, where his monument still remains. In the English Church, Bishop Andrewes was, if not the founder, the chief leader of the school of which Laud became afterwards, from his political importance, the more conspicuous head. His Oriental learning was considerable; and in King James's Bible, the revision and translation of the historical books from Joshua to the First Book of Chronicles, was his. In patristic theology he was far more learned than any of the Elizabethan bishops, or perhaps than any of his English contemporaries except Usher'. "He was," says Fuller, "an unimitable preacher in his way; and such plagiarists who have stolen his sermons could never steal his preaching, and could make nothing of that whereof he made all things as he desired. Pious and pleasant Bishop Felton (his contemporary and colleague) endeavoured in vain in his sermon to assimilate his style; and therefore said merrily of himself, 'I had almost marred my own natural trot by endeavouring to imitate his artificial amble\*.'" "The fathers were not more faithfully cited in his books, than lively copied out in his countenance and carriage; his gravity in a manner awing King James, who refrained from that mirth and liberty in the presence of this prelate which otherwise he assumed to himself\*." Milton's beautiful Latin elegy on the death of Bishop Andrewes is a sufficient proof of the reverence and admiration with which good men of all parties regarded him. Of all his works, that which is now most widely known is the "Manual of Devotion," published after his death. He was buried in St. Mary Overy's (St. Saviour's), Southwark, in a chapel east of the Lady Chapel, now pulled down. His tomb has been moved to the Lady Chapel.

[A.D. 1627—1631.] RICHARD NEILE, translated from Dur-

\* Hallam, Hist. Lit.

\* Worthies, London.

\* Fuller's Church Hist., book xi.

ham in 1627, was removed from Winchester to York in 1631.

[A.D. 1632—1650.] WALTER CURLE, deprived during the civil war, died at Subberton in Hampshire in 1650.

[A.D. 1660—1662.] BRIAN DUPPA, one of Charles the First's chaplains, was appointed in 1638 tutor to the Princes Charles and James; and about the same time nominated to the bishopric of Chichester. He was translated to Salisbury in 1641, joined the King at Oxford, and attended him after the surrender of that city. Bishop Duppa remained in almost complete solitude at Richmond in Surrey—in the palace at which place he had resided whilst instructing the princes—until the Restoration, when he was translated to the see of Winchester. An almshouse, founded by him, still remains at Richmond, with the following inscription over the gate, "I will pay my vows which I made to God in my trouble." Bishop Duppa died at Richmond in 1662, having been visited by Charles II. a few hours before he expired. He is buried in Westminster Abbey.

[A.D. 1662—1684.] GEORGE MORLEY, Canon of Christ Church Oxford, adhered to the King throughout the troubles; and in 1648 was deprived of his preferments, and imprisoned for a short time. He afterwards assisted the King during his conferences with the Parliamentary Commissioners at Newport in the Isle of Wight; and in March, 1649, prepared the 'lion-like Capel' for death, and attended him to the scaffold. He left England in the same year, and remained in the families of royalist exiles at Antwerp and Breda until the Restoration. In 1660 he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester; assisted in revising the Liturgy in 1661; and in 1662 was translated to the see of Winchester. Bishop Morley expended more than £8,000 in repairing Farnham Castle, which had been much shattered during the civil war; and purchased, for the see, Winchester-house at Chelsea. His other benefactions were numerous; and he was the founder of the College for Widows of the Clergy,

adjoining the Cathedral Close, Winchester, which still bears his name. He died at Farnham Castle, Oct. 30, 1684, "gathered under the feet of St. Simon and St. Jude," as Bishop Turner wrote to Sancroft. On his death-bed he was attended by the excellent Bishop Ken. In his earlier life Bishop Morley had been one of that distinguished company—among whom were Chillingworth, Selden, and Clarendon—who were in the habit of meeting at Lord Falkland's house at Thame.

[A.D. 1684—1706.] **PETER MEWS** (translated from Bath and Wells, 1684) had fought like a bishop of earlier days in the royal army during the civil war; and accompanied Charles II. to Flanders. He died in 1706. (See **WELLS**.)

[A.D. 1707—1721.] **JOHN TRELAWNEY** is best known as having been, when Bishop of Bristol, one of the seven bishops tried under James II. He was translated to Winchester from Exeter: (see that Cathedral).

[A.D. 1721—1723.] **CHARLES TRIMNELL**.

[A.D. 1723—1734.] **RICHARD WILLIS**, translated from Gloucester to Salisbury, thence to Winchester.

[A.D. 1734—1761.] **BENJAMIN HOADLEY**, whose name at least is still remembered in connection with the once famous Bangorian controversy, was born at Westerham in Kent, in 1676, and early distinguished himself as a zealous partizan of what is called 'religious liberty.' His father kept a school at Westerham, and educated his son, who went thence to Catherine Hall, Cambridge. In 1715 George I. made him Bishop of Bangor, which see, however, (it is said, from an apprehension of party fury,) he never visited. The convocation which met after the accession of George I. attacked Bishop Hoadley on account of a sermon preached by him in 1717 on the text, "My kingdom is not of this world," in which he denied that the Church possessed authority to oblige any one to external communion, or to pass any sentence which should determine the condition of men with respect to the favour or displeasure of God. "The lower

House of Convocation thought fit to denounce, through the report of a committee, the dangerous tenets of this discourse, and of a work not long before published by the Bishop. A long and celebrated war of pens instantly commenced, known by the name of the Bangorian controversy, managed, perhaps on both sides, with all the chicanery of polemical writers, and disgusting both from its tediousness, and from the manifest unwillingness of the disputants to speak ingenuously what they meant; but as the principles of Hoadley and his advocates appeared in the main little else than those of Protestantism and toleration, the sentence of the laity, in the temper that was then gaining ground as to ecclesiastical subjects, was soon pronounced in their favour; and the High Church party discredited themselves by an opposition to what now pass for the incontrovertible truisms of religious liberty. In the ferment of that age it was expedient for the State to scatter a little dust over the angry insects; the Convocation was accordingly prorogued in 1717<sup>b</sup>, and has only recently been permitted to sit for anything like despatch of business. Hoadley's most able opponent was the celebrated William Law, author of the "Serious Call." The Bishop's writings, however able, were open to some objections on the score of taste, and Pope has recorded,—

". . . . . Swift for closer style,  
But Hoadley for a period of a mile."

He died, aged 85, in 1761, and was buried in the nave of his cathedral. (See Part I. § 12.)

The succeeding bishops need only be named :—

[A.D. 1761—1781.] JOHN THOMAS, tutor to George III.

[A.D. 1781—1820.] BROWNLOW NORTH.

[A.D. 1820—1827.] GEORGE TOMLINE.

[A.D. 1827———.] CHARLES SUMNER.

<sup>b</sup> Hallam, Constitutional Hist., chap. xvi.



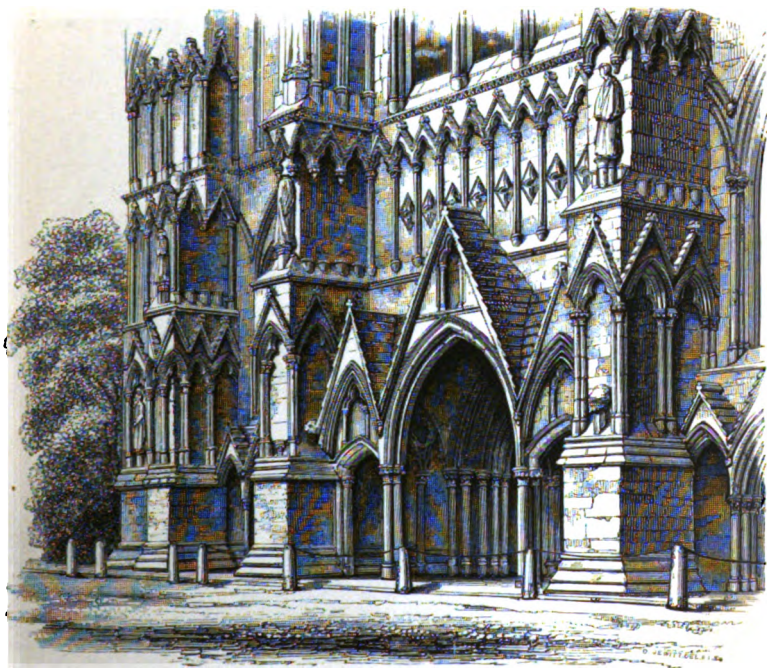
**SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.**

**FRONTISPIECE.**



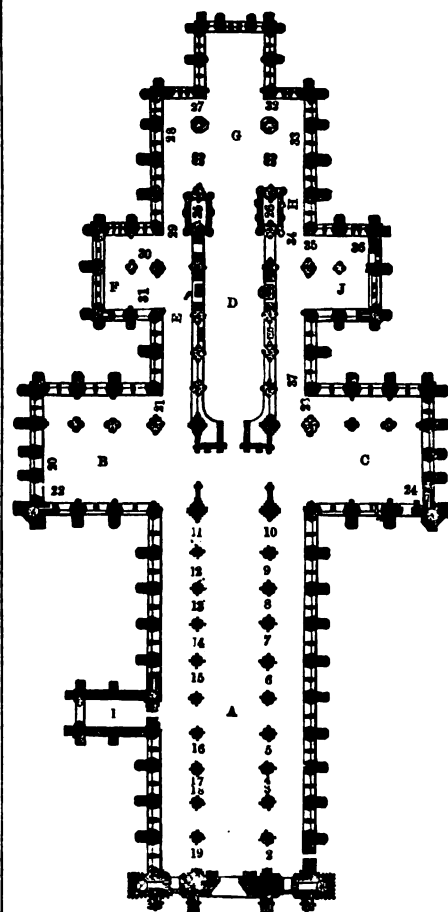
**NORTH-EAST VIEW FROM THE CLOSE.**

# SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.









# REFERENCES.

- A Nave.
- B North Transept.
- C South Transept.
- D Choir.
- E North Choir-aisle.
- F North-east Transept.
- G Eastern Aisles and Lady-chapel.
- H South Choir-aisle.
- J South-east Transept.
- 1 North Porch.
- 2 Monument assigned to Bp. Herman.
- 3 Bp. Jocelyn.
- 4 Bp. Roger.
- 5 Unknown tomb.
- 6 Bp. Beauchamp.
- 7 Robert Lord Hungerford.
- 8 Lord Stourton.
- 9 Bishop De la Wyle.
- 10 Longespée the first, Earl of Salisbury.
- 11 Sir John Cheney.
- 12 Walter, Lord Hungerford, and his wife.
- 13 Bp. Osmund.
- 14 Sir John de Montacute.
- 15 Unknown tomb.
- 16 Unknown tomb.
- 17 Longespée the second, Earl of Salisbury.
- 18 Boy Bishop.
- 19 Unknown tomb.
- 20 Bp. Blythe.
- 21 Bp. Woodville.
- 22 Staircase leading to tower.
- 23 Bp. Milford.
- 24 Doorway to Cloisters and Chapter-house.
- 25 Bp. Audley's Chantry.
- 26 Lord Hungerford's Chantry.
- 27 Sir Thos. Gorges.
- 28 Bp. Roger de Mortival.
- 29 Bp. Bingham.
- 30 Bp. Poore.
- 31 Brass of Bp. Wycill.
- 32 Edward, Earl of Hertford.
- 33 William Wilton.
- 34 Bp. William of York.
- 35 Bp. Giles of Bridport.
- 36 Doorway to Monument-room.
- 37 Sir Richard Mompesson.

# SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

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## PART I.

### History and Details.

I. FOR a history of the changes of the see, and of the bishops of Sherborne, Wilton, and Old Sarum, the reader is referred to the Second Part; as well as for a detailed account of the causes and manner of the removal from Old Sarum to Salisbury. It is sufficient to state here that the existing cathedral of Salisbury was commenced by Bishop RICHARD POORE (1217—1228) in the year 1220; and was completed and consecrated in 1258, having thus been thirty-eight years in building. The foundation was laid by Bishop Poore on the feast of St. Vitalis (April 28), 1220: the first stone for the Pope, Honorius III., who had consented to the removal of the church from Old Sarum; the second for Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, then absent with the young king, Henry III., in the marches of Wales; and the third for Bishop Poore himself. The fourth stone was laid by William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury; and the fifth by the Countess Ela, his wife. Others of the nobles and clergy who were present then added to the foundations; and when the great body of the nobles returned with the King from Wales, many of them visited Salisbury, “and each laid his stone, binding

himself to some special contribution for a period of seven years." In five years' time (1225) the work was so far advanced that three altars were consecrated by Bishop Poore, at the principal of which Henry III. and the Grand Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, offered, the first ten marks and a piece of silk, the latter a "Textus," or book of the Gospels, richly adorned with gold and jewels. Bishop Poore's immediate successors, ROBERT BINGHAM (1229—1246), WILLIAM OF YORK (1246—1256), and GILES OF BRIDPORT (1256—1262), carried on with great zeal the building of the new cathedral, which in 1258, during the episcopate of Bishop Giles, was consecrated by Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop of Canterbury, in presence of Henry III. and his Queen. Before the completion of the cathedral, William Longespée died, and was buried in it; and the bodies of three bishops—Osmund, Roger, and Joscelyn—were brought to it from Old Sarum. Elias de Dereham, a personal friend of Bishop Poore's, acted as clerk of the works for the first twenty years, and a certain "Robertus" for the twenty following. The cost of the whole work is said to have been 40,000 marks, or £26,666 13s. 4d. This sum was collected by contributions from the prebendaries themselves, by collections from different dioceses, to each of which a prebendary of Salisbury was duly despatched, and by liberal grants from various benefactors, such as Alicia de Bruere, who gave all the stone necessary for the work during twelve years.

II. The cloisters and chapter-house were commenced during the episcopate of WALTER DE LA WYLE (1263—1270), and perhaps completed in that of his successor,

ROBERT DE WICKHAMPTON (1270—1284). The spire (which seems, however, to have formed part of the original plan) was erected in the time of Bishop ROBERT DE WYVIL (1330—1375).

III. The history of no English cathedral is so clear and so readily traceable as that of Salisbury. It was the first great church built in England in what was then the new, or pointed style (Early English); of which it still remains, as a whole, one of the finest and most complete examples. The Abbey Church of Westminster, commenced in 1245, and completed to the east end of the choir in 1269, is the only great building of this age, in England, which can be considered finer than Salisbury; and it is probable that Henry III. was induced to undertake the rebuilding of Westminster from admiration of the rising glories of the new Wiltshire cathedral, which he had several times visited. On the Continent, the great rival of Salisbury is Amiens; commenced in the same year (1220), and completed, nearly as at present, in 1272. This famous cathedral covers nearly twice as much ground as Salisbury; and its internal height, as in all French cathedrals, is far greater; yet in variety of outline and in play of light and shade the English examples—Westminster especially—are beyond all doubt finer; although in comparing them we have constantly to bear in mind the vast difference in their dimensions\*.

\* "In the two contemporary cathedrals of Salisbury and Amiens, so often compared with one another, the length is very nearly the same, but the French church covers 71,000 square feet, the English only 55,000. The vault of the first is 152 feet in

IV. The usual alterations took place in Salisbury Cathedral at the Reformation, when much of the painted glass is said to have been removed by Bishop Jewell. Although desolate and abandoned, it escaped material profanation during the Civil War; and workmen were even employed to keep it in repair, replying, says Dr. Pope (*Life of Bishop Ward*), when questioned by whom they were sent, — “Those who employ us will pay us; trouble not yourselves to enquire; whoever they are they do not desire to have their names known.” On the Restoration, a report of the general condition of the cathedral was supplied by Sir Christopher Wren, and certain additions for the strengthening of the spire were made at his recommendation. The great work of destruction was reserved for a later period, and for more competent hands. Under Bishop Barrington (1782—1791) the architect Wyatt was, unhappily, let loose upon Salisbury; and his untiring use of axe and hammer will stand a very fair comparison with the labours of an iconoclast emperor, or with the burning zeal of an early Mahommedan caliph. He swept away screens, chapels, and porches; desecrated and destroyed the tombs of warriors and prelates; obliterated ancient paintings; flung stained glass by cart-loads into the city ditch; and levelled with the height, the latter only 85. Altogether, the cubic contents of Amiens are at least double those of Salisbury, and the labour and cost bestowed upon it must have been more than double. Thus, in making a comparison between the two, the fair mode is, to ask whether the cathedral of Amiens is finer than Salisbury would be if at least twice as large as it is.”—*Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture*, p. 889.

ground the campanile—of the same date as the cathedral itself—which stood on the north side of the churchyard. His operations, which at the time were pronounced “tasteful, effective, and judicious,” will be noticed more at length in their proper places.

V. The *Close*, within which the cathedral stands, was first surrounded with an embattled wall in the reign of Edward III., who in 1326 granted a licence for this purpose, and in 1331 issued letters patent to the bishop and canons empowering them to remove for the building of the Close wall, and of the tower, the walls of the church of Old Sarum, which was still standing. Stones covered with carving of the Norman period, no doubt brought from this church, may still be seen over the north gate of the Close, and in the wall south of that leading into St. Anne’s-street.

VI. Passing into the Close, the visitor finds himself confronted by the great cathedral, [Frontispiece], rising grey and time-honoured from the broad lawn of green-sward that enrings it, and well contrasted by groups of fine trees, always of infinite service in increasing the effect of noble architecture. The position is unusually clear and open; “Nor can the most curious, not to say cavilling, eye,” says old Fuller, “desire anything which is wanting in this edifice, except possibly an ascent,—seeing such who address themselves hither for their devotions can hardly say with David, ‘I will go up into the house of the Lord.’” The best point of view is from the north-east, which Rickman has pronounced “the best general view of a cathedral to be had in England, displaying the various portions of this interesting build-

ing to the greatest advantage." "The bold breaking of the outline by the two transepts, instead of cutting it up by buttresses and pinnacles, is a master-stroke of art; and the noble central tower, which, though erected at a later age, was evidently intended from the first, crowns the whole composition with singular beauty<sup>b</sup>." The cathedral is built (and roofed) throughout with freestone obtained from the Chilmark quarries, situated about twelve miles from Salisbury, towards Hendon, and still worked. The stone belongs to the Portland beds of the oolite. The pillars and pilasters of the interior are of Purbeck marble. The local rhyme in which the cathedral is celebrated may here be quoted; it is attributed by Godwin, who gives a Latin version of it, to a certain Daniel Rogers:—

"As many days as in one year there be,  
 So many windows in this church you see.  
 As many marble pillars here appear  
 As there are hours through the fleeting year.  
 As many gates as moons one here does view,  
 Strange tale to tell, yet not more strange than true."

VII. The point to which the attention of the stranger is at once drawn is, of course, the grand peculiarity of Salisbury, the "silent finger" of its *spire*. This is the loftiest in England, rising 400 feet above the pavement (Chichester, said, but very doubtfully, to have been built in imitation of it, is 271 feet in height; Norwich, 313 feet), and its summit is 30 feet above the top of St. Paul's. The central spire of Amiens (422 feet) is

<sup>b</sup> Fergusson, p. 860. It may be added that the north porch breaks the outline as effectively as the double transept, and is more peculiar.

22 feet higher than Salisbury; and that of Strasburg (468 feet), the highest in the world, 68 feet. It may well be doubted, however, whether in general effect and in grace of proportion Salisbury should not occupy the first place. The spire of Amiens is reduced to comparative insignificance by the enormous height of the roof (208 feet) above which it rises (the height of the nave-roof of Salisbury is only 81 feet); that of Strasburg, covered as it is with elaborate ornament, is far less graceful in form; and the traceries which enclose it are "unmeaning and constructively useless."

It is almost certain, judging from the very remarkable abutments running through the clerestory of the nave, choir, and transepts, that the central tower and spire formed part of the original plan. The Early English portion, however, terminates with the first story, about eight feet above the roof; the two additional stories and the spire above them date, as has already been stated, from the reign of Edward III. The walls of the upper stories of the tower are covered with a blind arcade, richly canopied, and pierced for light with double windows on all four sides. Above each story is a parapet with lozenge-shaped traceries, which are repeated in the three bands encircling the spire. At each angle of the tower is an octagonal stair-turret, crowned with a small crocketed spire. The great spire, itself octagonal, rises from between four small, richly-decorated pinnacles. Its walls are two feet in thickness from the bottom to a height of twenty feet; from thence to the summit their thickness is only nine inches. The spire is filled with a remarkable frame of timber-work, which served as a scaffold during

its erection, and will be afterwards noticed (§ XXII.) Whilst making some repairs in 1762, the workmen found a cavity on the south side of the capstone, in which was a leaden box, enclosing a second of wood which contained a piece of much decayed silk or fine linen, no doubt a relic (possibly of the Virgin, to whom the cathedral is dedicated) placed there in order to avert lightning and tempest.

Owing to a settlement in the two western towers, the spire, as a plumb-line dropped from the vane indicates, is twenty-three inches out of the perpendicular. Great fears were in consequence entertained at one time for the safety of the building, but no further movement has been detected for the last two centuries. The test of the plumb-line was repeated Sept. 30, 1858—the 600th anniversary of the dedication of the cathedral.

VIII. The *west front*, [Title-page], very inferior as it is to those of Wells or of Lincoln, is nevertheless striking. It was no doubt the portion of the cathedral last completed, as is especially indicated by the occurrence among its mouldings of the ball-flower, characteristic, for the most part, of the Decorated style of the fourteenth century. The front itself consists of a central compartment, rising into a steep gable, and flanked by two lower compartments, the angles of which are supported by square buttress towers, capped by small spires. A small square buttress rises on each side of the central compartment, in which is a triple porch with canopies, and the western window, a triplet divided by slender clustered columns. In the gable are two double lancets. The entire front is divided into five stories by

its mouldings, and the canopies of its blind arcades originally sheltered a host of more than a hundred statues, only eight of which are now remaining. These, according to Mr. Cockerell, are—on the south tower buttress, St. Peter and St. John the Baptist; on that to the north, St. Paul and St. John the Evangelist; and on the side facing the north, Stephen Langton (?). The figures on the two smaller buttresses are said to be—north, Bishop Poore, and south, William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury. The eighth figure, toward the north, is possibly St. Stephen. All are mutilated and weather-worn, and perhaps not one can be identified with certainty. The return of this screen should be examined from the east.

The *consecration crosses*, on different parts of the exterior, are numerous and fine. (See woodcut, end of Part I.)

IX. The *north porch*, which serves as the usual entrance to the cathedral, is large and fine, lined with a double arcade, and having a chamber in its upper story. The pinnacles on either side of the gable should be noticed, and the entire porch may be compared with that at Christchurch, Hants., of the same age and character. Like that, the north porch of Salisbury may have been used for a school, or for other purposes of instruction. Sentences of excommunication were published before it; and it has been suggested, though perhaps with no great probability, that it served as a ‘gallilee,’ or outer chapel for penitents. The ground about the cathedral has risen to such an extent that this porch, and the nave itself, have been frequently inundated.

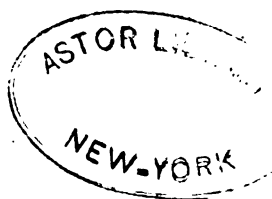
One of the most peculiar features of Salisbury cathedral, its *masonry*, has been especially noticed by Professor Willis:—"The regularity of the size of the stones is astonishing. As soon as they had finished one part, they copied it exactly in the next, even though the additional expense was considerable. The masonry runs in even bands, and you may follow it from the south transept, eastward, round to the north transept, after which they have not taken such great pains in their regularity. It is almost impossible to distinguish where they could have left off, for it is hardly to be supposed that they could have gone on with all the parts at the same time." This great regularity in the masonry, it should be observed, is a distinctive peculiarity of the Early English period.

X. We now enter the *nave*, [Plate I.], and the visitor, if he has passed into it through the north porch, should proceed at once to the western extremity, for the sake of the general view. This is intercepted eastward by the organ and choir-screen; but the general effect, in spite of a certain coldness arising from want of stained glass, is exceedingly beautiful, the perfect uniformity of the architecture contributing not a little towards it. Even Wyatt's arrangement of the monuments, on the continuous plinth between each pier, monstrous in its principle, and altogether inaccurate in its execution, has a certain solemn grandeur when the two long rows of warriors and prelates are contemplated from the

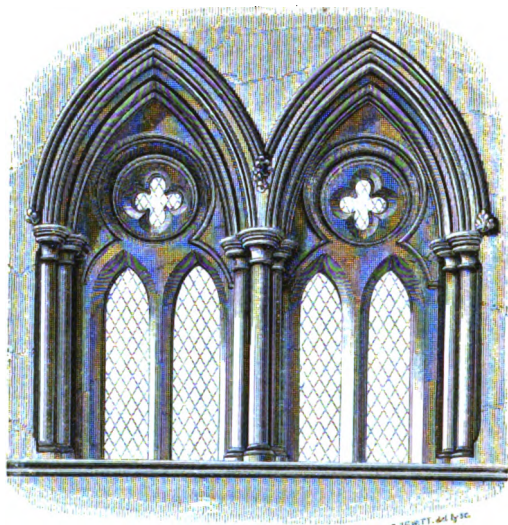
\* From Professor Willis's (unpublished) lecture on Salisbury Cathedral, 1849.



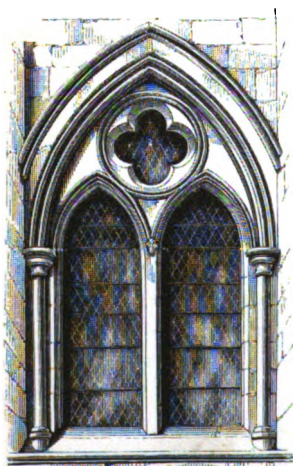
NAVE, LOOKING WEST.







TRIFORIUM, NORTH TRANSEPT.



EXTERIOR OF TRIFORIUM WINDOW, NORTH TRANSEPT.



GABLE WINDOW, EAST END.

western end of the nave, without any examination of details. The nave itself is divided into ten bays by clustered columns of Purbeck marble. Above the nave-arches runs the beautiful *triforium*, [Plate II.], (which greatly resembles, and should be compared with, that of Westminster); and above again the clerestory windows (triple lancets) are placed, each in a bay of the vaulting. This, which is plain, without ridge-ribs, rises from clustered shafts with foliated capitals. The windows in the nave-aisles are double lancets.

A certain plainness of mouldings and deficiency of elaborate ornamentation which may be observed throughout the cathedral, and are characteristic of buildings early in the style, perhaps indicate that the original plans were carefully adhered to, although the work was extended over so many years. The plate-tracery of the triforium (the first form in which tracery appears, and so called because the tympanum of the arch always retains the character of a flat surface or *plate* of stone pierced with openings) is another characteristic of the first period of Early English architecture.

The height of the nave of Salisbury is 84 feet; the width 82. Among English churches these proportions are exceeded only by Westminster, which is 103 feet high, but only 75 wide; and by York, 93 feet high and 106 wide.

XI. The greater part of the ancient *stained glass* throughout the cathedral was removed and destroyed during Wyatt's 'restoration.' The scanty fragments that remain were collected and placed about thirty years since in their present situations, in the west

triplet of the nave, in the west window of each aisle of the nave, and in some other parts of the cathedral.

The *western triplet* is filled with glass of dates ranging from Early English to Cinque Cento. The Early English glass is of two periods, and consists of the remains of a Jesse window, originally perhaps in one of the nave-aisles, the date of which is about 1240, and of some medallions removed from the windows of the chapter-house, not of an earlier date than 1270. The remains of the "stem of Jesse," of the *first* period, have been identified by Mr. Winston in the lower part and sides of the central light of the west triplet. They consist of two ovals, one representing the Saviour enthroned, with a book in one hand and the other raised in benediction, the head surrounded with a cruciferous aureole; and the other a seated female figure, probably the Blessed Virgin. Foliaged scrolls and small figures, also from the Jesse, are worked up in this light. The deep ruby of the ground should be remarked. The two medallions below the ovals—Zacharias in the Temple and the Adoration of the Magi—are probably of the same age as the Jesse. At the top of the central light is a large circle containing two figures, a bishop and a king, under an archway. This is from the chapter-house, and of the *second* period; as are the two elongated quatrefoils immediately below the representation of the Crucifixion in the same light. The shields of arms at the bottom of the lights are pronounced by Mr. Winston of the same date, and are, according to him, those of England, France, Provence, Plantagenet Earl of Cornwall, Clare Earl of Glou-

cester, and Bigod Earl of Norfolk. The whole of this glass is interesting as having formed part of the original glazing of the cathedral. The Perpendicular and Cinque Cento glass in the west triplet is said to have been brought partly from Rouen and partly from a church in the neighbourhood of Exeter. The principal subjects are,—in the *south* light, St. Peter and St. Francis before a crucifix; in the *central* light, the Crucifixion, the Virgin crowned, a bishop enthroned, and the invention of the Cross; in the *north* light, St. Augustine, the betrayal of Christ, and St. Catherine.

XII. In the west windows of the side-aisles the principal glass to be noticed consists of ornamental patterns, of which there are many varieties. These vary in date from circa 1240. to circa 1270, and are all worth examination. Colour is but sparingly introduced, and the white glass is for the most part of a cold though rich sea-green hue. "To the texture and hue of the glass these patterns owe their substantial and solemn appearance, which makes them harmonize with the character of the architecture, and with the picture glass paintings that are coeval with them."—*C. Winston*. The latest specimen of glass-painting in the cathedral is the shield of arms of Bishop Jewell (dated 1562), which occupies the quatrefoil of the west window of the south nave-aisle.

XIII. The present arrangement of the *monuments* in the nave was made by Wyatt in 1789. Not only have they been displaced from their original positions, by which their historical interest has materially suffered,

but their architectural portions (as the tombs on which effigies are lying) "are ignorantly made up of fragments evidently belonging to totally different erections, and to distinct periods from those to which the sculptured figures they support are attributable." Beginning at the west end they are as follows:—

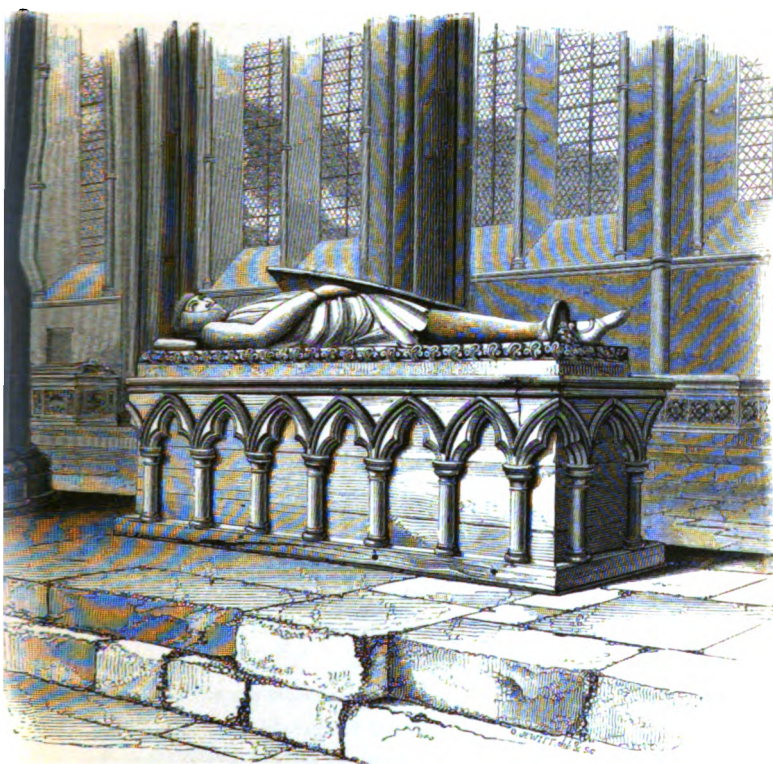
XIV. *On the south side*, the first monument is a flat coffin-shaped stone, said to have been brought from Old Sarum, and to have covered the remains of Bishop HERMAN (died 1078: see Part II.) Immediately beyond are two slabs with figures in low relief, which are among the earliest examples of their class in England, their only rivals being the sepulchral slabs of two abbots (dates 1086 and 1172) in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. They were brought from Old Sarum, and are supposed to represent Bishop JOCELYN (died 1184) and Bishop ROGER (died 1139: for notices of both see Part II.) "The head of Bishop Jocelyn, though of very early work, is evidently a later addition to the original figure; the action of the right hand displays great feeling and considerable power of art."—*R. Westmacott*. On what appears to be the central ornament of his cope are the words "Affer opem devonies in idem;" and on the edge of the slab is the following inscription, commencing at the head of the figure:—

"Flent hodie Salisberie quia decedit ensis  
Justitie, pater ecclesie Salisberiensis.  
Dum vigit, miseros aluit, fastusque potentum  
Non timuit, sed clava fuit terrorque nocentum.  
De Ducibus, de nobilibus primordia duxit  
Principibus, propeque tibi qui gemma reluxit."

In the slab of Bishop Roger "the treatment of the drapery and other parts is very characteristic of the rudest era of sculpture, closely resembling, in many respects that will occur to the antiquary, what is called the Etruscan style."—*R. W.* The foliage and ornaments are of early Early English character.

XV. The next tomb on the south side is that of an unknown personage. Beyond the interruption of the plinth, opposite the north porch, is an altar-tomb removed from the north transept aisle, and now containing the remains of Bishop **BRAUCHAMP** (died 1481: see Part II.), whose chantry was destroyed by Wyatt, and whose own tomb was 'misaid' during the operations of the same great destructive. On the next tomb, eastward, is the effigy of **ROBERT LORD HUNGERFORD** (died 1459), who served in France under the Regent Duke of Bedford, and whose widow, Margaret, daughter of Lord Bottreaux, founded the Hungerford Chapel, destroyed, like Beauchamp's, by Wyatt. The tomb on which the effigy rests was made up from portions of this chapel. The figure has a collar of SS. round the neck, and is in plate-armour,—an excellent example, shewing an approach to that extreme splendour which was attained under Richard III. All the pieces of armour are beautifully ridged, the origin of the fluted style so prevalent during the reign of Henry VII.—(*Meyrick.*) The highly-ornamented sword and dagger are suspended from a jewelled girdle. The tomb beyond is that of **LORD STOUVERON**, the original place of which was at the east end of the church, near the Somerset monument.

The three apertures on each side, representing wells or fountains, are emblematic of the six sources of the Stour, which rise near Stourhead, the ancient seat of the Stourtons, and occur in their armorial bearings. Lord Stourton was hung March 6, 1556, in the market-place at Salisbury, for the murder of the two Hartgills, father and son; the story running as follows:—"On the death of his father, Lord Stourton endeavoured to persuade his mother to enter into a bond not to marry again. The Hartgills, it appears,—a father and son, agents of the family,—were possessed of much influence with Lady Stourton, and on their refusal to further the designs of her son, he vowed vengeance against them, and commenced a system of persecution which was only to end with their death. This had continued for some time, and the Hartgills had been frequently waylaid and maltreated by ruffians hired for the purpose, when they sought redress at law, and obtained a verdict against Lord Stourton, who was sentenced to be fined, and imprisoned in the Fleet. After a while, however, he was allowed to revisit his country-seat, upon entering into a bond to return. It was then that he sent to the Hartgills, desiring them to meet him to be paid their fine, and this they consented to do at the sanctuary of Kilminster Church. On the day appointed they arrived, a table was placed on the grass, and the business commenced; but it had not proceeded far when at a signal from Lord Stourton the Hartgills were seized by armed men and pinioned, Lord Stourton himself assaulting with his sword the young wife of the son.



TOMB OF WILLIAM LONGESPÉE, THIRD EARL OF SALISBURY.



They were then hurried to a house called Bonham, two miles distant, and again, in the dead of night, brought to a field adjoining Stourton, and there knocked on the head, Lord Stourton himself standing at his gallery-door to witness the deed. The bodies were then brought into the house, their throats were cut, and they were buried in a dungeon. But the disappearance of the Hartgills soon led to the discovery of these bloody doings, and Lord Stourton was committed to the Tower. He was tried in Westminster Hall, found guilty, and condemned to be hung, with four of his men." The only concession made to Lord Stourton's noble birth was that he should be hung by a silken cord. A twisted wire with a noose, emblematic of the halter, was hung over the tomb as a memorial of his crime as late as the year 1775.

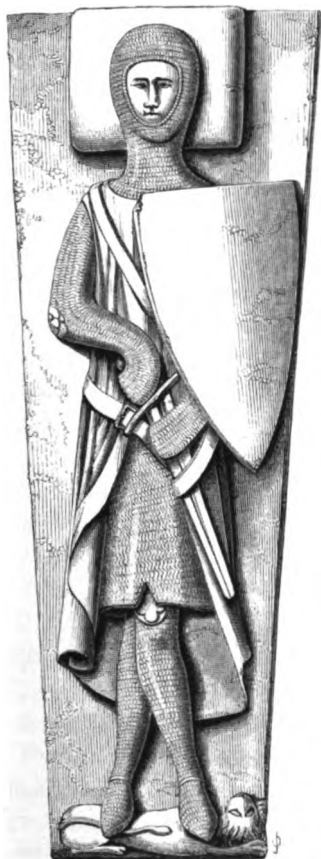
XVI. The next effigy, much mutilated, is that of Bishop DE LA WYLE (died 1270: see Part II.) The base is made up of fragments of much later date. Last on this side, on his tomb, is the fine and very interesting effigy of WILLIAM LONGESPEE (died 1226), first Earl of Salisbury of that name, and the son of Henry II. by Fair Rosamond. [Plate III.] "The manly, warrior character of the figure is particularly striking, even in its recumbent attitude, while the turn of the head, and the graceful flow of lines in the right hand and arm, with the natural, heavy fall of the chain-armour on that side, exhibit a feeling of art which would not do discredit to a very advanced school."—*R. Westmacott*. The effigy is entirely in chain-mail, covering the mouth as well as the chin in an unusual manner. Over the mail is the short

cyclas or surcoat. On the earl's shield are the six golden lioncels also borne by his grandfather, Geoffrey Count of Anjou. [Plate IV.] Longespée acquired the earldom of Salisbury through marriage with its heiress, the Countess Ela. He took an active part in public affairs throughout the reign of John; joined the Earl of Chester in an expedition to the Holy Land, and was present at the battle of Damietta in 1221, where the Christians were defeated. He was one of the few who, in the words of Matthew Paris, "resisted the shock of the infidels like a wall," and secured the retreat of the fugitives. He fought much in Flanders and in France; was present on the king's side at Runnymede, and was one of the witnesses to the Great Charter. Earl William died at his castle of Old Sarum in 1226, within two months after his return from Gascony. He had been tossed about for three months (October to January) between the Isle of Rhé and the coast of Cornwall, having been unable to effect a landing; such was then the difficulty of navigating those seas during the winter. The earl and his countess, as has already been mentioned, had assisted in laying the foundation-stones of the cathedral in which he was now interred. The slab and effigy of this monument are of stone. The base is of wood, and all has been richly painted and gilt. The wood within the arcade was covered with linen, on which was laid a white ground for gilding or silvering. On the north side, the linen, with its silvering, remains, and each arch has a different diaper pattern hatched with a point on the silver.

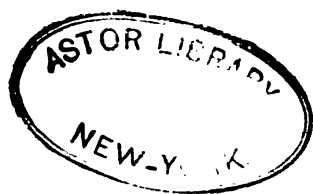
XVII. *On the north side of the nave, returning west-*



WILLIAM LONGESPÉE,  
THIRD EARL OF SALISBURY.



WILLIAM LONGESPÉE,  
FOURTH EARL OF SALISBURY



ward, are, opposite William Longespée, **SIR JOHN CHEYNEY** (died 1509). Round the neck, appended to a collar of SS., appears the portcullis-badge of Henry VII. Sir John, who was of extraordinary size and strength, was the standard-bearer of Henry of Richmond at the battle of Bosworth, and was unhorsed by Richard III. in that desperate final rush, when the King killed Sir William Brandon, and making a savage blow at Richmond himself, was overpowered by numbers, thrown from his horse, and killed. When the remains of Sir John Cheyney were removed by Wyatt from their original resting-place, the traditions of his great size were confirmed, the thigh bone measuring twenty-one inches, nearly four inches longer than ordinary. The tombs below Sir John's are those of Walter Lord Hungerford and his wife. The brasses have been removed. The next is a low altar-tomb, on the covering-slab of which is the date 1099. This was formerly in the Lady-chapel, and is a memorial, if not the actual tomb, of Bishop **OSMUND** (died 1099), the sainted patron of Salisbury: (see Part II). Below it is the effigy of **SIR JOHN DE MONTACUTE** (died 1389), younger son of William, the first Montacute Earl of Salisbury. He was present at the battle of Cressy, and served in Scotland under Richard II. His effigy "affords a good specimen of highly-ornamented gauntlets, of a contrivance for the easier bending of the body, at the bottom of the breastplate, and of the elegant manner of twisting the hanging sword-belt, pendent from the military girdle, round the upper part of the sword."—*Meyrick*.

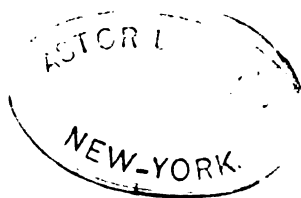
XVIII. The two next tombs are unappropriated. Be-

yond is the effigy of the *second* LONGESPEE, Earl of Salisbury (died 1250), son of Earl William, already noticed. [Plate IV.] It is cross-legged; and the chain-armour has elbow-plates, and 'poleyns,' or small plates of mail at the knees. Earl William II. was twice a crusader; in 1240, returning in 1242; and again in 1249, when he joined St. Louis of France at Damietta. Early in the following year he accompanied a body of Christians, led by the brother of Louis, towards Cairo. They were surprised and surrounded by the Saracens; and Longespée, with his standard-bearer, fell fighting valiantly. "That night," says Matthew Paris, "the Countess Ela beheld in a vision the heavens opened, and her son, armed at all points, with the six lioncels on his shield, received in triumph by a company of angels." The Saracens themselves were struck by his valour; and when negotiations for the redemption of prisoners were in progress in 1252, the Sultan expressed his wonder that no one enquired for the bones of Longespée, "of which many strange marvels were reported." They were at length delivered to the Christians, who deposited them in the Church of the Holy Cross, at Acre. This monument is said to have been raised by his mother. His standard-bearer, Robert de Vere, has a similar memorial in the church at Sudborough.

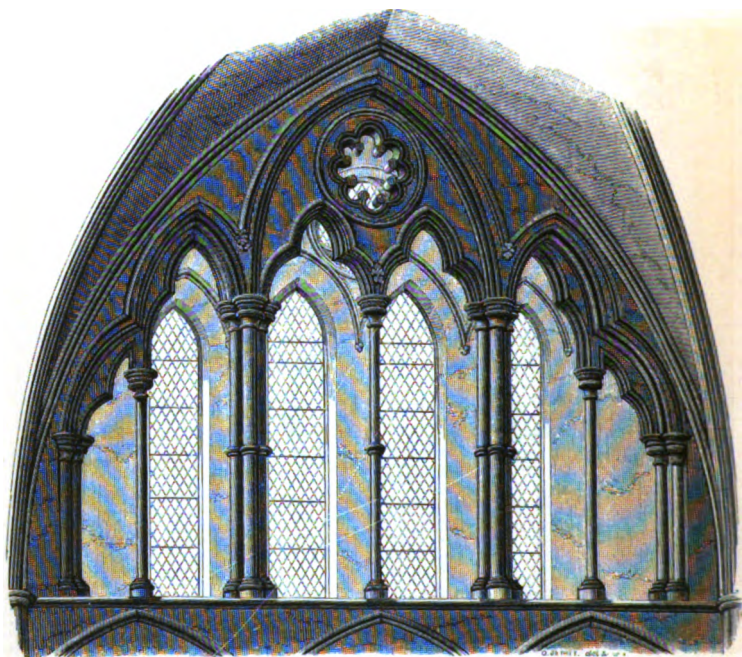
XIX. Beyond, again, is the curious monument of the BOY BISHOP [Plate V.], removed to its present place about the year 1680, when it was found buried under the seating of the choir. It is of Early English character. The boy, or choral bishop, was elected by the boys of the choir on St. Nicholas day (Dec. 6); and until Holy



THE BOY BISHOP.







WINDOW IN THE NORTH TRANSEPT, INTERIOR.

Innocents' day (Dec. 28), he sustained the dignity of bishop, the other choristers representing his prebendaries. A solemn service, with a procession, was performed by the children on the eve of Innocents' day. The custom, which was not confined to Salisbury, was forbidden by Henry VIII., and finally abolished by Elizabeth. In this case the boy bishop must have died during his time of "brief authority." The last tomb on this side—an ancient one—is that of some unknown personage. Against the west wall of the nave, on either side of the entrance, are—north, a monument for Dr. Turburville, an oculist of Salisbury, died 1696; and south, a monument by Rysbrack for Thomas, Lord Wyndham, died 1745.

XX. From the nave we enter the *north transept*, passing under the wide Perpendicular arch, which (as at Canterbury and Wells), was inserted early in the fifteenth century by way of counter-thrust against the weight of the central tower, under which the central piers had already given way to some extent, as will be at once perceived. It is owing to this settlement of the piers that the spire is out of the perpendicular. (See § VII.) The triforium and clerestory of the nave are carried round the transept; the triforium, on the north side, being replaced by two-light windows of very elegant character. The clerestory window above [Plate VI.], with its slender pilasters, and graceful flow of lines, deserves especial notice. Each transept has an eastern aisle divided by clustered piers into three bays. The screens which formerly enclosed the chapel in each of these bays were swept away by Wyatt.

XXI. The *monuments* to be noticed in this transept are three by Flaxman,—the most important to William Benson Earle, the bas-relief on which represents the Good Samaritan. Mr. Earle's charities were extensive. The other two are to Walter and William Long. "There is nothing extraordinary in the design," says Dr. Waagen, "but the workmanship is good, and there is real feeling in the heads." The monument to James Harris, author of "*Hermes*," is by *Bacon*; that to his son, the first Earl of Malmesbury, whose letters and journals form so valuable a contribution to the history of the reign of George III., is by *Chantrey*. The seated figure of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, the historian of Wiltshire, is the work of *Lucas*, a native of Salisbury. Remark also, against the west wall of the transept, a memorial of *John Britton*, the father of modern archaeology. It was placed here, in the cathedral of his native county, by the Royal Institute of British Architects, in 1857, the year of Britton's death. Against the north wall is the mutilated effigy of a bishop, probably Bishop BLYTHE, died 1499, (see Part II.); and partly in the eastern aisle is a large tomb with canopy, assigned to Bishop WOODVILLE, died 1484, (Part II.)

XXII. A staircase in the angle of the transept leads upward to the *tower*, which may be ascended by staircases in each of its flanking turrets. The top of the tower is called the "Eight Doors," from the double doors on each side, through which the visitor will obtain magnificent views over the town and surrounding country. The first story of the tower is of Early English date, and originally formed a lantern, open to the





WINDO V IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.

nave. It is surrounded by an arcade of slender pilasters. The ascent of the *spire*—which is a formidable undertaking—is made internally by a series of slender ladders as far as a little door about forty feet below the vane; and from that point the adventurous climber has to scale the outside by means of hooks attached to the walls. The interior is filled with a timber frame, consisting of a central piece with arms and braces. This entire frame, the arms of which were made to support floors which served as scaffolds whilst the spire was building, is hung to the capstone of the spire by iron cross bars, and by the iron standard of the vane, which is fixed to the upper part of the central piece. Great additional strength is thus given to the whole shell of the spire, and especially to its summit. The arms and braces are not mortised into the central piece, but are so fitted as to be removed at pleasure, for the sake of easy repair. The whole arrangement is curious and interesting. For a notice of the exterior of the spire, see § VII.

XXIII. The *south transept* is in all respects a counterpart of the north. The windows at the south end of this transept are filled with stained glass; that in the two uppermost lights being Early English. [Plate VII.] “The rest contain modern copies of the Early English patterns, except the centre light of the lowest triplet, which appears to be modern in design. These windows afford one of the many proofs that, however closely the design of ancient glass is copied, the imitation cannot be complete unless the texture of the ancient material is

copied also.”—*C. Winston*. The principal monuments in this transept are, between the south choir-aisle and that of the transept,—the very fine altar-tomb, with effigy, of Bishop MITTFORD, died 1407, (see Part II). The panels and arches of the tomb deserve notice; and the effigy itself, of white marble, is unusually solemn and impressive. In the hollow moulding of the canopy are birds bearing scrolls, with the inscription, “Honor Dei et gloria.” In the quatrefoils at the angles are, on the south side, the arms of England and France quarterly; and the cross and martlets of Edward the Confessor; on the north side, the arms of Bishop Mitford himself, and of the See of Salisbury. Against the east wall of the transept-aisle is a small quatrefoil in Caen stone, enclosing a floriated cross, designed by *Pugin*, for Lieut. Wm. Fisher, killed at Moodkee, Dec. 18, 1845; and near the south-east angle, a modern memorial of unusual character, for Bishop FISHER, died 1825, and buried at Windsor. Against the south wall is the monument of EDWARD POORE, died 1780, and his wife; and on the west wall, the monument with bust of Lord Chief Justice Hyde, died 1665. He was Lord Clarendon’s first cousin. A door at the south-west angle of this transept leads into the cloisters and chapter-house, to be afterwards (§§ XXXVI.—XLI.) noticed.

XXIV. Returning to the central tower-arches, (the lierne vault above which is of Perpendicular date,) we enter the choir. The *organ-screen*, under which we pass, is formed of fragments from the Hungerford and Beaufort chapels, destroyed by Wyatt. The *organ* it-

self, built by Green, of Isleworth, was the gift of George III. in the character of a "Berkshire gentleman," as the inscription on its west front testifies. Until 1836, Berkshire formed part of the diocese of Salisbury.

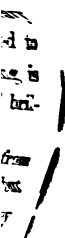
XXV. On passing into the *choir* the "coldness and leanness" which have been complained of as detracting from the effect of this cathedral become more apparent than in the nave; mainly owing, however, to the widespread destruction wrought by Wyatt in this part of the edifice. He removed the reredos behind the high altar, and the screen at the entrance of the Lady-chapel; thus throwing open the low eastern aisle and the Lady-chapel itself to the choir. The altar was placed at the eastern end of the Lady-chapel, from which monuments and chantries were ruthlessly swept away. The effect thus produced is decidedly not good; and although a very high reredos entirely shutting out the eastern end of a cathedral is always a dis-sight, the present condition of Salisbury is a sufficient proof that such a screen cannot be entirely dispensed with. The staining of the woodwork, and the rich colouring of the glass recently placed in the Lady-chapel, have materially improved the appearance of the choir since the time of Wyatt.

The architecture of the choir,—piers, triforium, and clerestory,—differs in no respect from that of the nave. Above the three arches at the eastern end, the triforium, instead of its ordinary grouping, is formed by five small arches with cinquefoil headings. Above is a triplet window, with a blind panelling on either side. The

glass in this window, the subject of which is the elevation of the brazen serpent, was the gift of the Earl of Radnor in 1781. It was executed by Pearson, after a design by Mortimer; and although the depth and solemnity of a true Early English design would no doubt suit the position better, this window is not without merit. "There are no overpowering masses of heavy shadow, and the more positive colours are carried to the extreme verge of the picture. The colouring is lively, and the picture has a certain degree of brilliancy."—*C. W.*

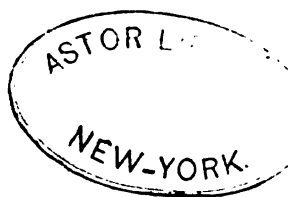
The *stalls* and *bishop's throne*, dated originally from the episcopate of Bishop HUME (1766—1782), but were remodelled and canopies added by Wyatt. They have been stained of a dark oak colour, and the name of the prebend to which each stall is appropriated is placed at the back.

XXVI. Opposite each other, in the second bay of the choir counting from the east, are the chapels of Bishop Audley, and of Walter Lord Hungerford, the latter removed from the nave by the Earl of Radnor, as representative of the Hungerford family, in 1778. Bishop AUDLEY's chantry (died 1524: see Part II.), [Plate VIII.], is one of the few monuments occupying their original places in the cathedral. It is a very fine example of late Perpendicular; and may be compared, though far less rich in all its details, with the almost contemporary monument of Bishop Fox at Winchester. The numerous figures which filled the niches have long been removed. The arms and initials of the founder



8







THE LADY-CHAPEL.

appear on the shields projecting from the cornice, and supporting the episcopal mitre. The interior, which retains much bright colouring, has a rich fan-vault. The *Hungerford Chapel* (circa 1429) opposite, interesting as an example of early ironwork, has suffered more serious degradation, in spite of its restoration and blazoned shields. It has been converted into a pew for the Radnor family, for which purpose it was removed from its proper situation in the nave. The upper part is entirely of iron, with the projections gilt. The arms on the different compartments of the base are those of the founder and his two wives. On the ceiling within are a series of bearings, illustrating the descent of Lord Radnor from the Hungerfords. Iron chapels, such as the present, are rare, especially of so early a date. The finest and most elaborate example is the chantry of Edward IV. (died 1483), in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

XXVII. From the choir we pass into the low *eastern aisle* behind it, now open both to the choir and the Lady-chapel. The aisle itself is narrower and of less importance than the "procession paths" of either Winchester or Exeter ; but the slender clustered shafts which separate it from the Lady-chapel invest this part of the cathedral with unusual grace and beauty. The height of each shaft is thirty feet, and the diameter little more than ten inches. The *Lady-chapel* [Plate IX.] is divided by similar clusters and by single shafts, into a central and two side-aisles. The slender, and almost reed-like columns assist in carrying the vault.

At the east end is a triple lancet, with an additional light on either side; the intervening space being occupied by an exterior buttress. All five lights have recently been filled with stained glass in commemoration of the late Dean Lear. The subjects represented are the principal events in the life of our Saviour. This glass has replaced an indifferent painted window, displaying the Resurrection, from a design by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The *altar-piece*, below the window, is a curious composition. The three central niches formed the original altar-piece of the Beauchamp Chapel (date 1481), whilst those on either side were constructed from the entrances to that and to the Hungerford Chapel (date 1470), both of which were destroyed by Wyatt<sup>d</sup>. Both were rich and highly decorated, as their remains fully prove. The canopies of the niches under the side-windows of the Lady-chapel were formed by a cornice from the Beauchamp chantry. In this chapel, after his canonization in 1456, stood the magnificent shrine of St. Osmond, whose tomb in the nave has already been noticed.

On the north side of the altar, but without any memorial or inscription, are interred six Earls and four Countesses of Pembroke, the first laid here having been Earl Henry, died 1601; his countess (died 1621),

"The glory of all verse,  
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother,"

also lies here, unrecorded like the rest. Her epitaph is written on pages more enduring than brass or marble,

<sup>d</sup> Engravings of both these chapels will be found in Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments."

in the "Arcadia," and in Ben Jonson's verses. Her son, Earl William, died 1630, whose character, as drawn by Clarendon in the first volume of his history, has all the life-like vigour of a portrait by Vandyke; and Earl Philip, died 1669—the unworthy original of the wonderful picture at Wilton—also repose here.

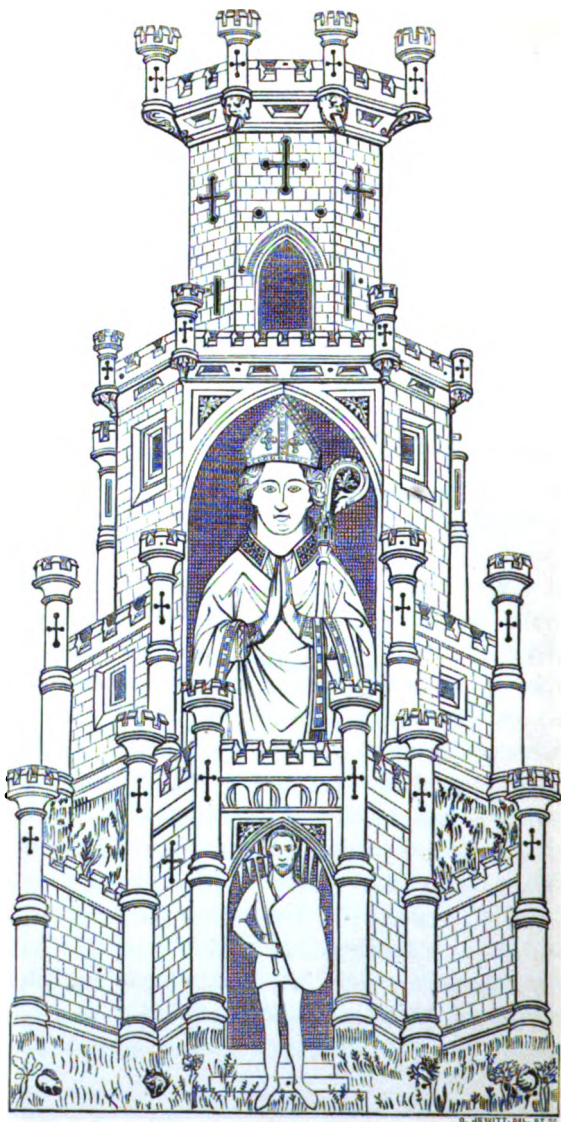
XXVIII. At the east end of the *north choir-aisle* is the monument of Sir Thomas Gorges, of Longford Castle, and of his widow, Helena Snachenberg, a fine example of "the very worst taste of design." Four twisted pillars support the entablature with its ornaments,—obelisks, globes, spheres, and the cardinal virtues. The effigies of the knight and his lady lie beneath this "heavy load." The latter accompanied the Princess Cecilia of Sweden to England, where she became one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour, and married, first the Marquis of Northampton, and afterwards Sir Thomas Gorges. The monument was erected in the year of her death by her son, Edward Lord Gorges, Baron of Dundalk. Under an arch in the north wall of this aisle is a tomb with a cross fleury in relief, assigned to Bishop ROGER DE MORTIVAL, died 1227. The stone slab on which it is set is said to have covered the remains of Bishop LONGESPEE, died 1396, son of the second Earl William Longespée. In the same aisle, at the back of the choir, in the bay below the Audley Chapel, is the tomb assigned—but questionably—to Bishop BINGHAM, died 1246. The existing structure seems of later date. The crockets of the arch are enriched with figures of angels; and from the centre rises a lofty pinnacle in

three stories. The slab was inlaid with a brass, which has disappeared. This was apparently a cross fleury with a demi-figure; and if really of the age of Bishop Bingham, it is one of the earliest instances of the use of brass plate in England.

XXIX. In the *north-east transept*, now called the Morning Chapel, the chief objects of interest are the monument of Bishop Poore and the brass of Bishop Wyvil. Small secondary transepts, such as these at Salisbury, occur also at Canterbury and at Lincoln; and on the continent, the great conventual church of Cluny (now destroyed) afforded a fine example of the same arrangement. The ground-plan of the entire church was thus made to resemble a double or archiepiscopal cross.

The effigy said to be that of Bishop Poore was removed by Wyatt from its original position on the north side of the high altar. The bishop himself, the founder of the existing cathedral, was translated to Durham in the year 1228, where, according to authentic records, his body was conveyed after his death at Farrent in Dorsetshire in 1237. There seems to be no sufficient reason for believing that he was interred in his former cathedral of Salisbury, but he may possibly have had a monument erected there as the founder and especial benefactor of the new church. The effigy, which is in many respects a striking one, may very well be of his period, and the turrets at the head of the canopy perhaps refer to his church building. Over the centre of the arch is an angel supporting the circle and crescent





BRASS OF BISHOP WYVILL.

of the sun and moon. The leafed heading of the bishop's crozier is unusually graceful.

Immediately within the entrance to the transept is the very curious brass (removed from the nave) of Bishop WYVIL (died 1375: see Part II.) [Plate X.] This bishop recovered for the see Sherborne Castle, which King Stephen had seized from the warlike hands of Bishop Roger. It had been granted by Edward III. to William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, against whom the bishop brought a writ of right. The disputants agreed to abide by the trial by battle, and both produced their champions in the lists. They were preparing to engage, when a message from the king ordered the question to be referred to another day, and in the meantime matters were compromised, the earl ceding the castle to the bishop and his successors on payment of 2,500 marks. The brass represents the contested castle, with keep and portcullis. At the door of the first ward appears the bishop with mitre and crozier, bestowing the episcopal benediction on his champion, who stands at the gate of the outer ward in a close-fitting 'jack,' with a battle-axe or 'uncinus,' the weapon appropriated to judicial combat, in his right hand and a shield in his left. The rabbits and hares before the castle gate refer to the chase of Bishop's Bere within Windsor Forest, a grant or restitution of which was also procured by Bishop Wyvil.

The gravestone of Bishop JEWEL (died 1571: see Part II.), from which a small brass has been removed, and that of Bishop GHEAST (died 1576), still retaining

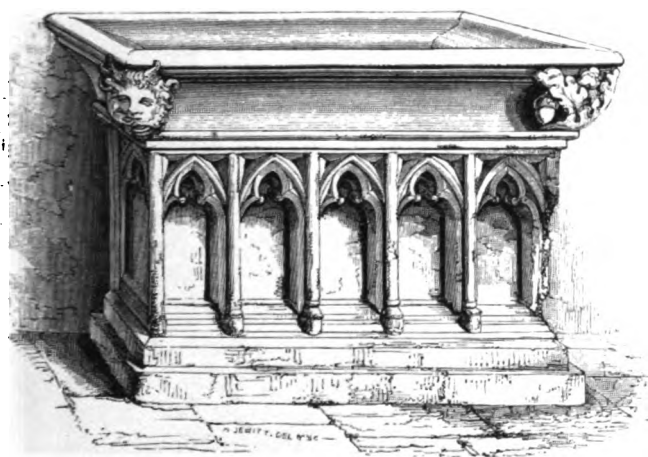
his effigy, lie near the great brass of Bishop Wyvil. Both were removed from the choir.

A *lavatory* [Plate XI.] of early Perpendicular character, which formerly stood near the vestry, and is now placed in this transept, should also be remarked.

XXX. Returning through the eastern aisle we enter the *south choir-aisle*, at the east end of which is the stately though tasteless monument (partly blocking the windows) of the unfortunate Edward Earl of Hertford (died 1621), and of his still more unfortunate countess, the Lady Catherine Grey, who died in 1563, nearly sixty years before him. John Duke of Somerset (the 'proud' duke) and his wife, the famous heiress of the Percys, are also interred here; and the monument, which is gilt and painted, was restored by the late Duke of Northumberland. The Earl of Hertford, it need hardly be said, was long imprisoned by Elizabeth for his private marriage with the sister of Lady Jane Grey, who had certain claims to the royal succession. His wife, after her release from the Tower, was separated from her husband, and died in the following year. "It is worth while to read the epitaph on his (Lord Hertford's) monument, an affecting testimony to the purity and faithfulness of an attachment rendered still more sacred by misfortune and time. Quo desiderio veteres revocavit amores\*."

In the south-east angle of this aisle is the altar-tomb (formerly assigned to Bishop Wickhampton) of WILLIAM WILTON, Chancellor of Sarum, 1506—1523. The shields

\* Hallam, Const. Hist. Eng., chap. iii.



LAVATORY.





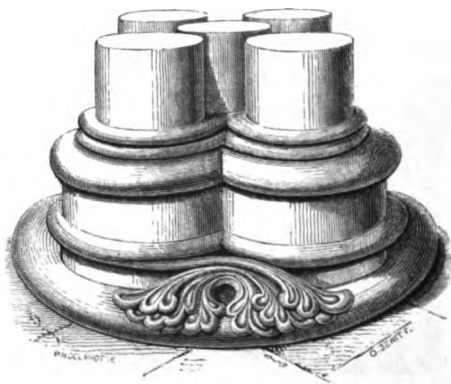


TOMB OF BISHOP BRIDPORT.





FINIAL, BISHOP BRIDPORT'S TOMB. CHAMFER OF BUTTRESS.



BASE.

on the cornice bear the device of Henry VIII. (a rose) and that of Catherine of Arragon (a pomegranate); the arms of Bishop Audley, Wilton's patron; and of Abingdon Abbey, to which he may have been formerly attached. Other shields display his rebus, the letters W.I.L. on a label, and a *ton* or barrel. Immediately below the Hungerford chantry is a tomb from which the brass has been removed, ascribed, but most improbably, to Bishop WILLIAM OF YORK (died 1267). The canopy is certainly of much later date. Adjoining, and near the choir door, is a memorial for Dean CLARKE (died 1757), the friend of Newton.

XXXI. The monument opposite William of York's, between the choir-aisle and the eastern aisle of the transept, is one of the most important and interesting in the cathedral. It is that of Bishop GILES DE BRIDPORT (died 1262), during whose episcopate the cathedral was completed and dedicated. [Plate XII.] All the details of this remarkable monument deserve the most careful examination. The effigy, at the head of which are small figures of censing angels, lies beneath a canopy, supported, north and south, by two open arches with quatrefoils in the heads. Each arch is subdivided by a central pilaster, and springs from clustered shafts, detached. A triangular hood-moulding, with crockets and finials of leafage, projects above each arch; and between and beyond the arches pilasters rise to the top of the canopy, supporting finials of very excellent design. [Plate XIII.] The whole character of the tomb is most graceful, but an especial interest is given to it

by the reliefs with which the spandrils of the arches are filled, and by the small sculptured figures on various parts of the monument. "They are indeed remarkable productions for the time of their execution, and in many respects are well worthy the study and imitation of artists of our own day."—*R. Westmacott*. The subjects in the spandrils, beginning on the *south side*, have been thus interpreted. The first, a female figure with an infant and attendants, represents the birth of the future bishop : in the three next spandrils are his confirmation (?),—either his own education or his instruction of others,—and, possibly, his first preferment. The shield, hung from a tree in this compartment, bears Az., a cross, or, between 4 bezants, no doubt his own arms. On the *north side* of the monument are—the bishop doing homage for his see—a procession with a cross-bearer, perhaps referring to the dedication of the cathedral,—the bishop's death, and the presentation of his soul for judgment. Little or nothing is known of the life of Bishop Bridport. (See Part II.) It may be added that the sculptures both here and in the chapter-house must have been executed by artists who were contemporary with Niccola Pisano (born circ. 1200, died 1276.)

XXXII. The *south-east transept* contains memorial-windows of stained glass for the officers and men of the 62nd or Wiltshire Regiment, who fell during the campaign of the Sutlej, 1845, 46, and for those of the same regiment who fell in the Crimea. Both windows were the gift of surviving comrades. Here is also a tablet for BOWLES the poet, (a canon of Salisbury,) who died

in 1850; and two small ones, erected by him for Hooker and Chillingworth, both prebendaries of this cathedral. Remark also the monuments of Bishop BURGESS (died 1837), and of Bishop SETH WARD (died 1689: see Part II.) On the floor is the gravestone of Dean Young, father of the poet.

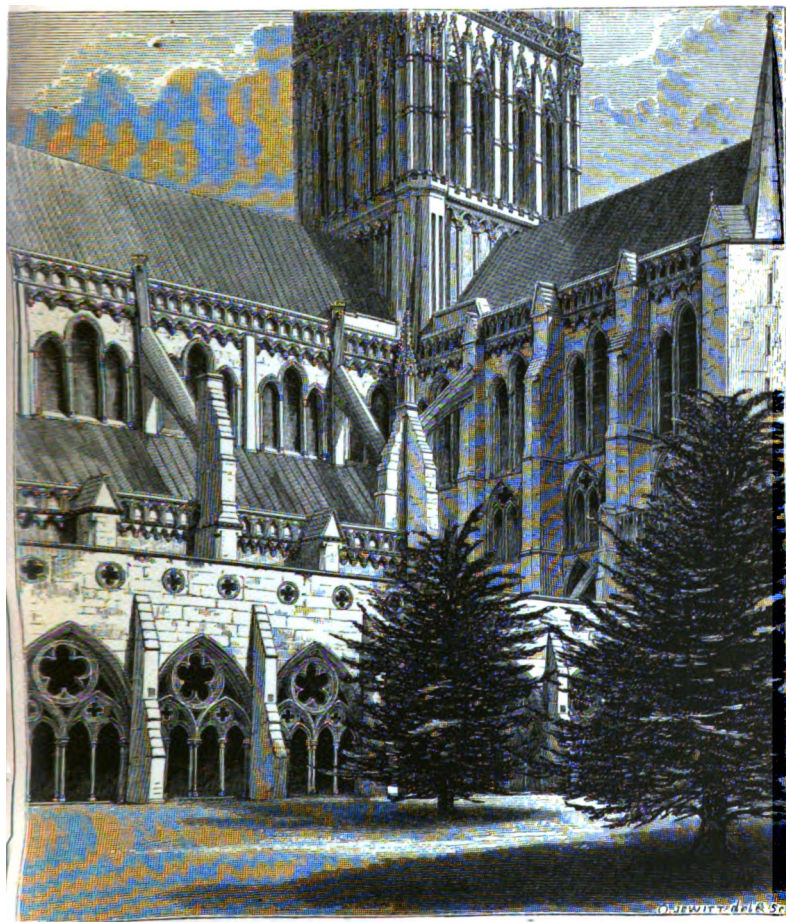
XXXIII. The *muniment room*, which is entered from this transept, is a dimly-lighted octagon, the oaken roof of which is supported by a central column of wood. In the chests and presses contained in this room are deposited the various charters and other documents connected with the cathedral and its property.

XXXIV. In the *south choir-aisle*, which we now re-enter, are the monuments of Bishop DAVENANT (died 1641: see Part II.); of Bishop SALCOT, or CAPON, (died 1557: see Part II.); and of SIR RICHARD MOMFESSON and his wife (died 1627). This last is a good example of the time. The grapes and vine-leaves which cluster about the black marble pillars are coloured green and gold.

XXXV. We may now return to the south-west transept and pass into the cloisters, above one walk of which is the *library*, a long room, built by Bishop Jewel, 1559—1571. The number of printed books is about 5,000, and 130 manuscript volumes are also preserved here, many of which are of considerable importance. The earliest is the Gregorian Liturgy, with an A. S. version. The pen-drawings of the capital letters are remarkable. An early copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and a copy of Magna Charta, supposed to be the tran-

script committed to the care of William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, as one of the original witnesses, should also be mentioned.

XXXVI. The *cloisters* themselves, [Plate XIV.,] which are of later date, and exhibit a more developed style than the rest of the cathedral, are among the finest examples in England; and nothing can be more beautiful than the contrast of their long grey arcades and graceful windows with the green sward of the cloister-garth, or 'Paradise,' the 'layers of shade' of the dusky cedars in its centre, and the patch of bright blue sky above. The length of each side is 181 feet. The arrangement of the windows, with their large six-foiled openings above, and the double arches below, again subdivided by a slender pilaster, is very striking. They should be compared with the triforium of the cathedral. Remark also the gradation of the clustered shafts, originally of Purbeck marble, between and in the centre of each window. The upper part, above the mullions, was originally glazed, and fragments of the stained glass still remain. [Plate XV.] A blind arcade fills the opposite side, between each bay of the vaulting, which, like that within the cathedral, has no ridge-ribs. The clustered columns at the angles of the cloister have enriched capitals, the rest are simply moulded. The building of the cloisters must have immediately followed that of the cathedral, since the chapter-house, which opens from them, and is perhaps of slightly later character, dates early in the reign of Edward I., many of whose pennies, during the recent restoration, were found in



CLOISTERS, EXTERIOR.





O. J. WITT, del. & sculp.

THE CLOISTERS.

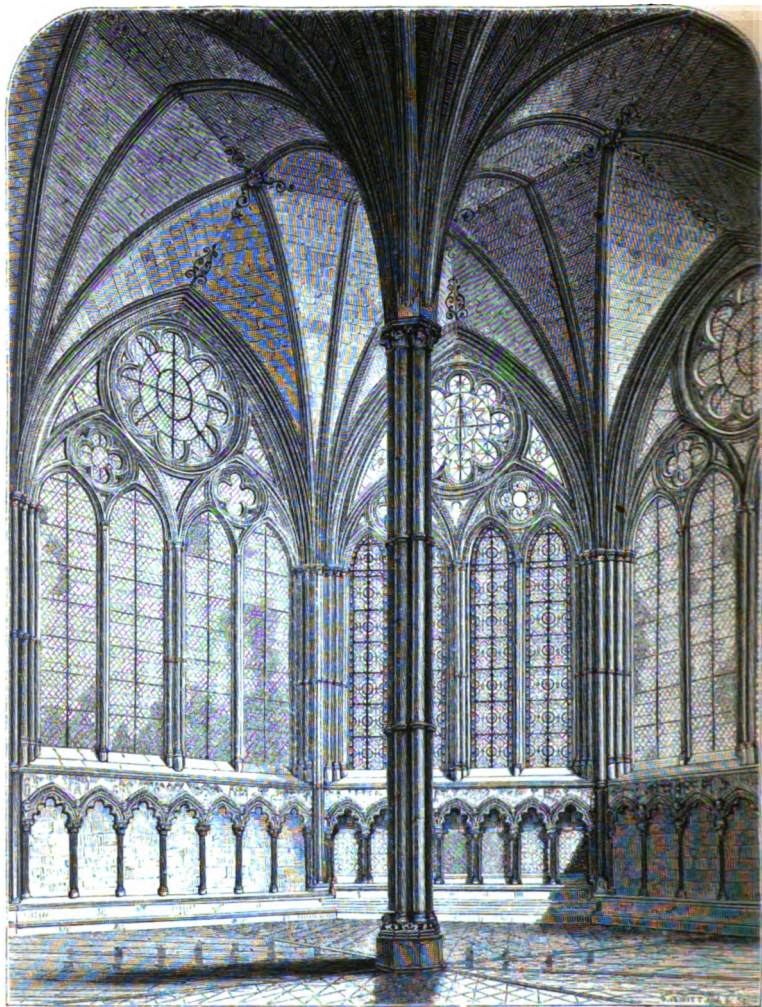
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CHAPTER-HOUSE, FROM THE BISHOP'S GARDEN.





THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

those parts of the foundations which required underpinning. The cloisters were restored by Bishop Denison, who died in 1854, and is buried, with his first wife, in the central enclosure. The original Purbeck shafts were then replaced by common stone, "to the no small detriment of the general effect."

XXXVII. In the centre of the eastern walk of the cloisters is the entrance to the *chapter-house* [Plate XVI.], dating, as has already been said, early in the reign of Edward I. It is "a noble octagonal building, having an internal diameter of about fifty-eight feet. Each side is occupied by a large window of four lights, with an arcade of seven bays below it; the vaulting-ribs fall upon a central pillar, and their filling-in is composed of the same light concrete found throughout the cathedral. Whether there was or was not anciently a high-pointed roof remains a disputed point. All we know is, that the present roof is modern, and that the poinçon has evidently formed part of an older roof contemporary with the building. The great defect of the structure is its want of boldness; externally the buttresses do not project far enough, and internally the small columns at the angles look flat, and resemble reeds. Altogether, the impression is left on the spectator that the architect, whoever he might have been, was by no means up to the mark of the designers of Westminster, Canterbury, or Wells." — *W. Burgee*. [Plate XVII.] A plinth of stone, supporting forty-two niches for as many prebendaries, runs round below the windows; and at the east end is a raised seat,

divided into seven compartments, for the bishop and his principal dignitaries. The arcade, on this side alone, has double shafts. The restoration of the entire building, which had fallen dangerously out of repair, was commenced soon after the death, and as a memorial of, Bishop Denison, under the superintendence of Mr. Clutton, the cathedral architect; and after the works had been partly completed, the chapter-house was re-opened with a solemn service in July, 1856. Something still (1860) remains to be done, but what has been already finished is sufficient to render the restoration one of the most interesting and successful that has been recently accomplished. The Purbeck shafts, including the central column, have been cleaned and polished; the floor has been laid with Minton's encaustic tiles, with which the walls of the arcade have also been inlaid and diapered; the colouring and gilding of the roof has been restored; the windows have been newly glazed; and, most important of all, the sculptures, which had been much mutilated—it is said by the puritanical commissioners, who held their sittings in the chapter-house during the civil war—have been carefully restored, and are in progress toward their final appearance in all the glories of polychrome.

XXXVIII. These *sculptures* fill the vousoirs of the arch in the vestibule, and the spandrils of the arcade below the windows in the chapter-house itself, and are among the most interesting remains of early Gothic art which exist either in England or on the Continent. The doorway forming the entrance to the chapter-house

from the cloister is of great beauty. The niche in the centre of the arch is at present empty, and it is impossible to determine the subject of the sculpture with which it was filled. (A coronation of the Virgin, as 'Mater justitiæ, misericordiæ, caritatis,' and other virtues, has been suggested). In the voussours are fourteen small niches, containing figures of the different virtues trampling on the vices. This subject, partly owing to the popularity of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, was an especial favourite throughout the middle ages, and almost every large church had its pictured or sculptured virtues and vices. "Canterbury has them incised on the stone historiated pavement round the shrine of Becket; Chartres has them sculptured on the west portal of the north transept, but without the vices."—*W. Burges*. These at Salisbury are not very readily interpreted. Of those on the *right* hand the figures in the third niche, counting from the top, seem to be Concordia trampling on Discordia; in the sixth, Temperantia pours liquor down the throat of Ebrietas; and in the seventh, Fortitude tramples on Formido, who cuts her own throat. On the *left* hand are,—in the first niche, Fides trampling on Infidelitas; in the second, a Virtue covers a Vice with her cloak. The Vice embraces her knees with one hand, and stabs her with a sword held in the other. "This incident is taken from Prudentius. Discord by stealth wounds Concord; she is taken and killed by Faith, which latter incident may be represented in the next compartment."—*W. Burges*. The well-known line of

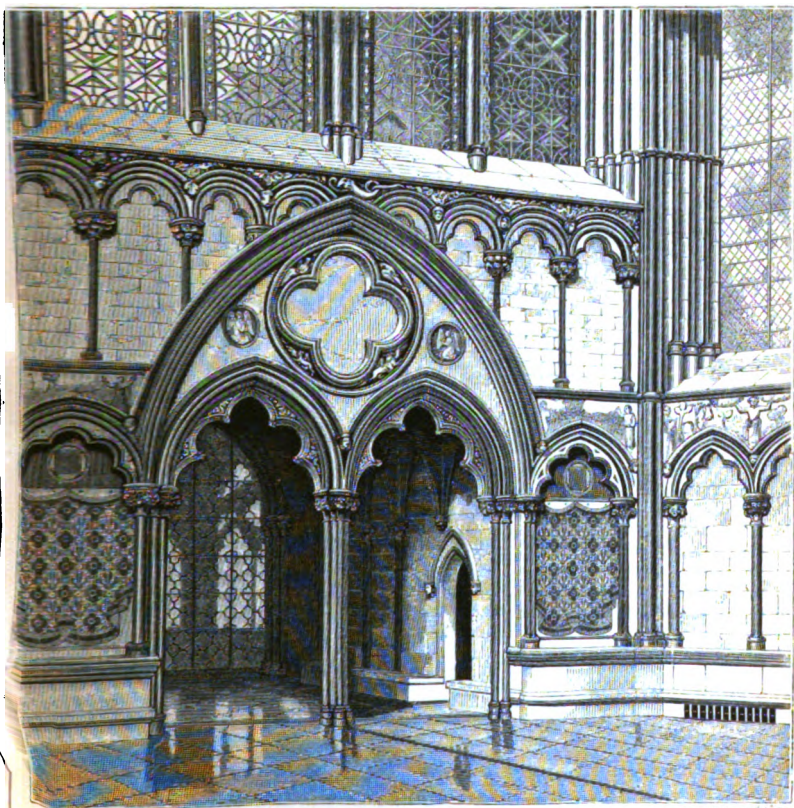
Chaucer, suggested perhaps by a similar sculpture, is at once recalled—

“The smiler with the knife beneath his cloak.”

In the fourth niche Veritas pulls out Mendacia's tongue ; in the fifth Pudicitia scourges Libido ; and in the sixth Largitas pours coin into the throat of Avaritia. The visitor should not pass hastily by these sculptures. “They are of the very highest class of art, and infinitely superior to any of the work in the chapter-house : the only defect is in the size of the heads. Probably this was intentional on the part of the artist. The intense life and movement of the figures are deserving of special study.”—*W. Burges*.

XXXIX. Passing to the sculptures within the chapter-house, we are struck by the rich display of polychromy in those divisions which have been already completed under the able direction of Mr. Hudson. The original colouring, so far as it could be ascertained, has been reproduced. The greatest amount of colour is in the arcade : “from this it is carried up to the groining by means of (1) the coloured parts of the grisaille glass ; (2) the Purbeck shafts of the mullions and jambs ; and (3) a red fillet on the principal mouldings.” A very interesting pamphlet describing the condition of the sculptures and their colouring before the restoration was commenced, has been published by Mr. Burges, (*Masters*, 1859). We have been greatly indebted to it for the following description.

XL. [Plate XVIII.] The key to the whole scheme of the iconography, according to Mr. Burges, is “the



CHAPTER-HOUSE. ENTRANCE ARCH.



quatrefoil in the tympanum of the inside face of the entrance arch. From the fact of the evangelistic emblems occupying the angles of this panel, we may well infer that it was adorned with a seated figure of our Lord. . . . Around, and starting from the quatrefoil as a centre, run first a series of heads, representing the various conditions of life at the time the edifice was constructed. Thus we see the shaven monk, the in and out-door costume of the fine lady, the nun, the merchant, the sailor, the countryman, and many others. Then, above these, and filling in the spandrels of the arcade running below the windows, is the history of man, from the creation to the delivery of the ten commandments on Mount Sinai. It will thus be perceived that the series begins and ends with the ministrations of our Lord." The windows, in their original condition, seem to have continued the "poem." At all events, each of the quatrefoils contained an angel, bearing one of the objects used in the celebration of the Eucharist. (Ten of these remain scattered in the west windows of the nave. See § XI.)

The whole of the sculptures, it must be remembered, were in a shattered and mutilated condition before the late restoration; in carrying out which, great assistance was derived from the superb MS. commonly known as "Queen Mary's Psalter," (Cottonian MSS. 2 B. VII.) This MS. is English, and not many years later in date than the Salisbury sculptures. Some remarkable variations from the Biblical narrative, especially in the history of Joseph, occur in both, and will be afterwards noticed.

XLI. The subjects in the arcades are as follows:—

*West arcade* (left of doorway.)

1. God creates the light.
2. Creation of the firmament.

*North-west arcade.*

1. Creation of the trees.
2. Creation of sun and moon.
3. Creation of fishes and birds.
4. Creation of beasts, and of Adam and Eve.
5. God rests on the seventh day. He is blessing the earth.
6. God shews Adam the tree of good and evil.
7. Adam and Eve eating of the fruit of the tree.
8. Adam and Eve hide themselves.

*North arcade.*

1. The Expulsion. Remark the door of paradise—yellow, with black foliated hinges.
2. Adam working with a spade. Eve suckling Cain.
3. Sacrifice of Cain and Abel.
4. Murder of Abel.
5. God sentences Cain. Abel's blood crying from the earth is represented by Abel buried in it up to his arm-pits, praying.
6. God commands Noah to build the ark. He is at work with an auger. The ark has the figure-head of a dog.
7. Noah enters the ark at one end: at the other he receives the dove with the olive-branch. The raven is seen feeding on the dead bodies.
8. Noah prunes his vineyard; the vines are trained on a trellis in the Italian fashion.

*North-east arcade.*

1. The drunkenness of Noah.
2. The building of the tower of Babel. An inclined plane with pieces across is used instead of a ladder.

3. Abraham implores the three angels to stay with him. He is on one knee, and the angels are in albs with the amice.
4. Abraham waits on 'the angels at table. One of them has his hand on a fish.
5. Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.
6. Lot's departure. His wife is turned into a pillar of salt.
7. Abraham leading the ass, with Isaac on its back.
8. Abraham, about to slay his son, is stayed by the angel.

*East arcade.*

1. Blessing of Jacob. Rebecca listening at the door.
2. Blessing of Esau.
3. Rebecca sends Jacob to Padan Aram.
4. Jacob takes the top off the well to give water to Rachel's cattle. One beast is a camel.
5. Rachel brings Jacob to her father.
6. Jacob talks with the angel. Two others are near.
7. The angel touches Jacob on the thigh with a stick.
8. Meeting of Esau and Jacob. Leah and Rachel behind with the sheep.

*South-east arcade.*

1. Joseph's dream.
2. Joseph tells his dream to his father, mother, and brothers.
3. (1) Joseph seized by one of his brothers. (2) He is put into the well. (3) A kid has its throat cut over Joseph's garment.
4. (1) Joseph is sold to the seneschal of the King of Egypt. (This variation from the biblical narrative, where he is sold to the Ishmaelites, occurs also in the MS. 2 B. VII.) (2) The seneschal on horseback with Joseph behind him.
5. The brothers bring back the coat.
6. The seneschal presents Joseph to Pharaoh, who gives a stick into his hand.

7. Temptation of Joseph by Pharaoh's queen, not, as in the Bible, by Potiphar's wife. Both this and the former scene occur also in the MS.
8. Joseph accused.

*South arcade :—*

1. Joseph is put in prison.
2. (1) The baker is hung. (2) The butler offers the cup to Pharaoh.
3. Pharaoh's dream.
4. Pharaoh consults a magician (?)
5. (1) Joseph delivered from prison; (2) kneels before Pharaoh.
6. Joseph seated, presiding over the threshing of the corn. A man throws straw into the Nile. In the MS. Joseph communicates the intelligence that there is corn in Egypt by throwing straw into the river, which thus reaches his father, 'com il est en soun chastel.'
7. (1) Arrival of the brothers. (2) One of them on his knees before Pharaoh.
8. (1) Presentation of Benjamin to Joseph. (2) The cup is put into his sack.

*South-west arcade :—*

1. The cup found in Benjamin's sack.
2. (1) The brethren on their knees before Joseph. (2) Joseph falls on Benjamin's neck.
3. Jacob and his family going into Egypt. They are on foot.
4. The brethren imploring Joseph not to take vengeance on them after Jacob's death.
5. The subject very doubtful. It possibly represents Joseph embracing his family and assuring them of his protection.
6. Moses and the burning bush.
7. Passage of the Red Sea.

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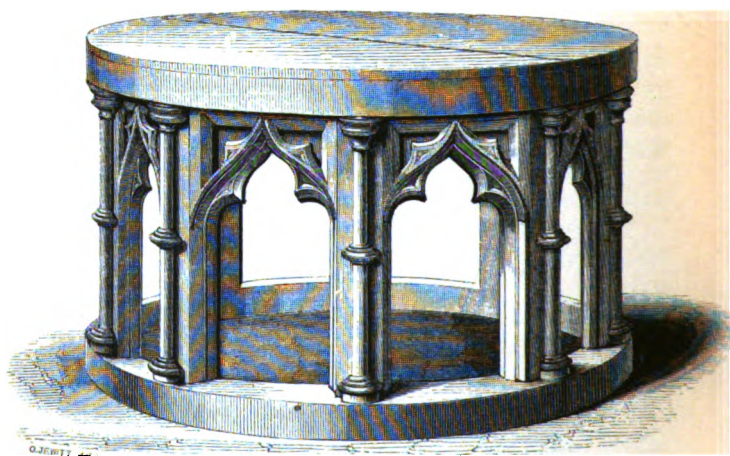


TABLE IN THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

(Before its restoration.)

8. Destruction of Pharaoh and his host. Armed figures with shields (one of which is kite-shaped) and banners in a carriage.

*West arcade* (right of doorway):—

1. Moses strikes the rock.
2. God gives the Law to Moses.

The variations in the history of Joseph found here and in the Cottonian MS. may have originated, as Mr. Burges suggests, with "some contemporary author who made the story into a sort of romance, adapting and altering the incidents to the manners of his time. We should also remember that Froissart is more than suspected of embellishing his history in a similar manner."

XLII. The *bosses* of the roof are composed of foliage and chimerical animals, except that to the north of the west doorway, which is divided into three groups of figures, relating probably to some guild or trade who contributed to the building. They are armourers, musicians, and apothecaries. Between the bases of the small columns of the central pillar is some sculpture which seems to relate either to the romance of Reynard the Fox or to some of Æsop's fables. The original cap and base (from which these sculptures have been copied) are preserved in the cloisters. An ancient table, which stands in the chapter-house, and is apparently of the early Decorated period, should be noticed. It has been carefully restored. [Plate XIX.]

XLIII. A door from the cloisters opens into the

grounds of the episcopal *palace*, the most interesting part of which is the hall, dating from 1460, and hung with portraits of the bishops since the Restoration, chiefly copies. Those of Hyde, Burnet, Sherlock, Barrington, and Douglas, are originals. A good view of the chapter-house is obtained from the garden; and a very fine one of the cathedral itself, from a seat nearly opposite the gateway of the palace. The wonderful height of the tower and spire here shews to the greatest advantage.

The porch which formed the entrance to the north transept, whence it was removed by Wyatt, is preserved in the grounds of *the College*, the residence of W. J. H. C. Wyndham, Esq., north-east of the city.



# SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

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## PART II.

### *History of the See, with short Notices of the principal Bishops.*

**A**BOUT the year 705, after the kingdom of the West Saxons had been so far extended as to embrace, under a control more or less direct, the whole of the western counties, with the exception perhaps of Cornwall, a second bishopric, in addition to the original see of Winchester, was established by King Ina, at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire. The new diocese seems to have comprised Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire, all of which had been hitherto under the ecclesiastical rule of Winchester. As the western counties became more settled and more populous, the diocese of Sherborne was sub-divided in its turn. In the early part of the tenth century (about the year 905) bishoprics were established at Wells for Somersetshire, and at Crediton for Devonshire; and a few years later (about 920) the Wiltsetas (men of Wiltshire) were provided with a bishop of their own, the place of whose see was Ramsbury\*. This latter diocese, under Bishop Her-

\* Ramsbury is on the border of Wiltshire, near Marlborough. The see is sometimes called "Corvinensis" and "Sunnungnensis," both names referring to places within the diocese which have not been identified with certainty. "Wiltunensis," the title by which the bishopric was most generally known, refers to the district (Wiltshire), and not, as has sometimes been asserted, to the village of Wilton near Salisbury.

man, (about 1060,) was reunited to that of Sherborne; and the episcopal seat for both was transferred by the same bishop, in 1076, to the strongly fortified town (or rather castle) of Old Sarum. Thence, in the year 1220, it was removed by Bishop Richard Poore to the present city of Salisbury; which, then in the course of foundation, increased rapidly about the new cathedral and its attendant buildings.

The first and most distinguished Bishop of SHERBORNE was (A.D. 705—709) ST. ALDHELM, "among the first, if not actually the first, of the learned men of Europe<sup>b</sup>," who may be considered as representing the southern school of Saxon learning as completely as Bede, who was for some years his contemporary<sup>c</sup>, is the representative of that of the north. Aldhelm was nearly connected with the royal house of Wessex, though in what degree is uncertain. He is said to have been born at Malmesbury in Wiltshire, where at all events he received his earlier education under Maildolph<sup>d</sup>, an Irish monk who had established himself there, "memoris amœnitate captus," allured by the deep woodlands which spread far and wide about the half ruined British Castellum, then in the hands of the Saxons. Maildolph had collected a body of scholars about him, of whom Aldhelm was one. Greek and Latin he afterwards learned at Canterbury, in the school established there by Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus; and before embracing the monastic life at Malmesbury he seems to have visited the principal schools of France and of Italy. That of his old master, Maildolph, had apparently grown into a house of regular Benedictines; and on the death of its founder (about 675), Aldhelm, whose reputation for learning had spread far beyond the limits of his native country, was placed at its head by Lothaire, Bishop of Winchester. As Abbot of Malmes-

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Guest.

<sup>c</sup> Bede was twenty-seven years of age when Aldhelm died.

<sup>d</sup> 'Malmesbury' is a contraction of 'Maildolph's bury.'

bury, Aldhelm contributed not a little toward the extension and establishment of Christianity throughout the western counties. Religious houses were founded by him at Frome and at Bradford; and it is said to have been at his instigation that Ina re-established the old British monastery at Glastonbury. The story of his singing on the bridge at Malmesbury in the character of a minstrel, and of his intermingling sacred subjects with profane, so as to attract and fix the attention of the ruder peasantry, need here only be alluded to\*. In 705, on the division of the original bishopric of Winchester, Aldhelm was appointed to the new diocese of Sherborne by King Ina. Four years afterwards, (May 25, 709,) he died in the wooden church of Doulting (into which, feeling his end approaching, he had ordered himself to be carried), on the south side of the Mendip Hills. His body was conveyed to Malmesbury, where many relics, including his psalter, his cope, and his bell, were preserved until the Reformation. Aldhelm was regarded as one of the patron saints of the royal house of Wessex, especially by Athelstan, who greatly enriched the Abbey of Malmesbury, in the church of which he was afterwards buried. The life of Aldhelm, compiled from earlier sources by William of Malmesbury, forms the fifth book of his *Gesta Pontificum Angliæ*. Aldhelm is said, and possibly with truth, to have been the first native Anglo-Saxon who wrote in Latin both in prose and verse. "Vir undequaque doctissimus," says Bede; "nam et sermone nitidus, et scripturarum tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum eruditione mirandus." His extant works were edited in one 8vo. vol. by Dr. Giles, Oxford, 1844.

[A.D. 709—817.] Of the next five bishops of Sherborne little is recorded. It may be remarked, however, that their names are those of native Saxons; a proof that the nationality of

\* See it at length in Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, ii. p. 96, from William of Malmesbury.

† *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. v. c. 18.

the English Church, in Wessex at all events, was already strongly developed.

[A.D. 817—867.] The seventh, Bishop EALHSTAN, was probably, like Aldhelm, a connection of the royal house. He was one of the chief counsellors of Ethelwulf of Wessex, the father of Alfred, and, unlike the Saxon bishops in general, who rarely appeared on the battle-field, assisted in repelling the Northmen, then commencing their fiercest series of attacks against the western counties, as well by his sword as by his counsels. The Danes were defeated by him in 845, in a fight at the mouth of the river Parret. He died in 867, at a great age, having held his episcopate for fifty years. "Through all the storms of his life he maintained his position until he died peaceably at Sherborne, and was buried in the royal vault there<sup>a</sup>." A gold ring, of somewhat peculiar shape, ornamented with niello, and inscribed with the name 'Alhstan,' found at Lllys-faen in Caernarvonshire, was supposed by Mr. Pegge to have belonged to this bishop. It is figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. iv.

[A.D. 868—871.] Ealhstan's successor, HEAHMUND, a warrior like himself, was killed in the battle of Merton (871), in which Athelred and Alfred opposed, for the last time together, the 'hosts' of the Northmen. Athelred died almost immediately afterwards, and Sherborne seems at this time to have fallen into the hands of the Danes, since Alfred caused his brother to be buried at Wimborne Minster<sup>b</sup>.

Throughout the succeeding years of confusion, (871—880,) during which the whole of Wessex was exposed to the incessant ravages of the Northmen, it seems uncertain whether the see of Sherborne was duly filled or not. The names of two bishops however are recorded—Ethelage and Wulfsgie. It is equally uncertain in what year ASSER, who

<sup>a</sup> Pauli. *Life of Alfred*.

<sup>b</sup> Since the foundation of the see, the Kings of Wessex had been interred at Sherborne.

died in 909, became Bishop of Sherborne. It was, according to his own account, in the year 884 that Alfred first called him to his court from the monastery of St. David's in Wales, where he had been educated and received as a monk. After acting for some time as the king's instructor, the monasteries of Ambresbury and Banwell, besides Exeter with its 'parrecia,' were placed in his hands; and in conjunction with the other men of learning whom Alfred had assembled from the continent and from the parts of England north of the Thames, Asser did his best to "build up the waste places" and to restore the civilization which had been almost entirely overthrown by the Danish ravages. It is probable that he did not become Bishop of Sherborne until after the death of King Alfred (901); since the name of Wulfsize as bishop of that see is still found after the commencement of the tenth century. It need hardly be said that it is Asser to whom we are indebted for the most minute and life-like picture we possess of the great Saxon king. The authenticity of his "Life of Alfred," which has been disputed by Wright (*Biographia Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon Period), is fully maintained by Kemble ("Saxons in England," ii. p. 42, note); and with some slight deductions, by Dr. Pauli ("Life of Alfred," Introduction).

The name of Swithelm or Sigelm, who, according to Florence of Worcester, followed Asser in the see of Sherborne, is not found in any of the genuine lists. It was probably a 'king's thane' of this name, and not a bishop, who was sent by Alfred on the famous mission to the Christians of the remote East—"the first intercourse between England and Hindostan<sup>1</sup>."

[A.D. 909—918.] During the episcopate of Bishop WERSTAN the bishopric of Ramsbury or Wilton was separated from that of Sherborne. Werstan and one of his successors, SIGELM (died 934), are said to have fallen in battle with the Northmen. Of the remaining bishops of Sherborne,

<sup>1</sup> Pauli,

from ALFRED (died 941) to ELFWOLD (died circa 1058), little has been recorded. An old monk, who, according to Malmesbury, used to tell stories of Bishop Elfwold "with a melancholy pleasure" (*lachrymabili gaudio*), declared to the chronicler that whoever ventured to fall asleep in that bishop's chair was punished for his temerity by the most terrific and appalling visions.

[A.D. 920—1058.] Eight bishops of WILTON followed in regular succession, until the ninth and last, Herman, removed the two sees (Sherborne and Wilton) to Old Sarum. Three of the Wilton bishops, Odo, Siric, and Alfric, were translated to Canterbury. (See the Handbook of that Cathedral for a notice of Odo, the colleague of Dunstan in his long dispute with King Eadwig.)

[A.D. 1058—1078. HERMAN, the last bishop of Wilton, was, according to Simeon of Durham, one of the many Lotharingian Churchmen who were attached to the court of Edward the Confessor and his Queen. He became Bishop of Wilton in 1045, and in 1058 Bishop of Sherborne; the two dioceses being soon afterwards united. Herman, like other bishops of English sees who were natives of Lorraine (as Leofric of Exeter and Giso of Wells), was not deprived of his see after the Conquest. He assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Lanfranc; and in 1075, after the Council of London, which decreed that bishops' sees should be removed from obscure towns to places of greater note, Bishop Herman transferred the united sees to OLD SARUM, the Saxon town of 'Searobyrig,' which had been established within the strong fortifications of the Roman Sorbiodunum. The tomb and remains of Bishop Herman are said to have been afterwards removed to Salisbury. (Pt. I. § 14.)

[A.D. 1078—1099.] OSMUND, afterwards St. Osmund, and one of the great patrons of Salisbury (but not canonized until the year 1456), completed the cathedral at Old Sarum which his predecessor had only time to commence. Already

lord of Seez in Normandy, Osmund, who is said to have been personally related to William I., was created Earl of Dorset after the Conquest. He subsequently embraced the ecclesiastical life, possibly in order to receive the bishopric (he was already castellan of Old Sarum), for which his noble birth and unusual learning especially qualified him. As bishop he compiled the *Consuetudinarium*, or Ordinal of Offices "for the Use of Sarum," an arrangement which subsequently became the model throughout the south of England, and which was rendered necessary by the variations introduced by the numerous foreign ecclesiastics who settled in this country after the Conquest. The original ritual is still preserved in the cathedral of Salisbury<sup>1</sup>. Bishop Osmund seems to have been a somewhat severe prelate. "Rigid in the detection of his own faults," says Malmesbury, "he was unsparing towards those of others." He was present at the Council of Rockingham in 1094, in which, influenced perhaps by his relationship, he took the side of William Rufus against Anselm, for which he afterwards received absolution from the Archbishop. His tomb and remains were removed to the new cathedral after its completion (Pt. I. § 17): and toward the end of the fourteenth century, the reputation of Bishop Osmund's miracles became so widely spread that after due consultation the Chapter of Salisbury determined to make an application to the Pope for his canonization. This was finally announced by Pope Callistus III. (the first of the Borgia) in 1456, but not until very considerable sums "for the expedition of the bull" had found their way into the Roman exchequer. The miracles said to have occurred at Bishop Osmund's tomb are of the usual character. His successor,—

[Elected A.D. 1102, but not consecrated until 1107; died 1139.] ROGER was the most powerful Churchman and sub-

<sup>1</sup> It has been published and commented on by Dr. Rock in "The Church of our Fathers," London, 1849.

ject in England throughout the reign of the first Henry. His origin is unknown; and he is said to have first recommended himself to the royal favour when a poor priest at Caen by the extreme shortness of his mass. He was attached to the household and managed the exchequer of Henry before his accession to the throne of England; and afterwards he remained the King's first favourite, being immediately appointed Chancellor, and elected in 1102 to the bishopric of Sarum. During Henry's frequent absences in Normandy he acted as Grand Justiciary, and the kingdom was committed to his sole charge. Unscrupulous, fierce, and avaricious, Bishop Roger affords perhaps the most complete type of the great feudal Churchman at a time when the Anglo-Norman bishops were barons rather than prelates, when their palaces were castles, and their retainers vassals-in-arms. "Whatever he desired," says William of Malmesbury, "if it was not to be had by payment, was seized by force." He built the great castle of Devizes; and another at Sherborne, "than which," says Huntingdon, "there was not one more magnificent within the borders of Europe." His two nephews were appointed by his influence to the wealthiest English bishoprics—Niggellus to Ely, and Alexander to Lincoln. Of his two sons by his mistress, Maud of Ramsbury, one was made Chancellor, the other Treasurer, of England.

During the lifetime of Henry, Bishop Roger had sworn allegiance to the Empress Matilda; but probably through the influence of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, he at once attached himself, on the King's death, to the cause of Stephen. Bishop Roger, however, was one of the first to fall, when Stephen, in the fourth year of his reign (1139), made a deliberate attack on the powerful body of Churchmen by whom he had, in effect, been placed on the English throne. During a council held at Oxford in 1139, Bishop Roger and his nephew, Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, were seized on some slight pretext, and impi-

soned until the former had resigned to the King his strong castles of Devizes and Sherborne, and the latter those of Newark and Glaford. Bishop Roger died in the same year, "*tam mœrore quam senio confectus*," says Huntingdon. The tomb assigned to him, said to have been brought from Old Sarum, remains in the nave of the present cathedral. (Pt. I. § 14.)

The see remained vacant until the appointment of (1142—1184) JOCELYN, the opponent of Becket, by whom he was suspended during the famous proclamations at Vezelay in 1166. The Constitutions of Clarendon had been supported, and perhaps partly framed, by Bishop Jocelyn; and he was to some extent instrumental in inducing Becket to give his temporary adherence to them. After the murder at Canterbury, Bishop Jocelyn "purged himself of his offences" towards the Archbishop by his own oath, and by those of four compurgators, and was restored to his functions by the Cardinal Legate. In 1183 he retired to a Cistercian monastery which is not named, and died in the following year. The remarkable effigy in Salisbury Cathedral which is generally assigned to him is noticed Pt. I. § 14. The see was vacant five years until it was filled by—

[A.D. 1188, trans. 1193.] HUBERT WALTER, son of a wealthy proprietor of knightly rank in Norfolk. He was educated under the celebrated Chief Justice, Ralph Glanville. As Bishop of Salisbury he accompanied Archbishop Baldwin to the Holy Land; and on the death of that prelate was nominated by Richard I., in the camp before Acre, to the vacant archbishopric. (See CANTERBURY for a further notice of him.)

[A.D. 1194—1216.] HERBERT LE POER, or DE LA POER, succeeded, of whom little is recorded. His relative, perhaps brother,—

[A.D. 1217, trans. 1228.] RICHARD POORE, or LE POER, was the bishop who transferred the see from Old Sarum to the

existing city of Salisbury. He had been consecrated Bishop of Chichester in 1215, and was removed to Sarum in 1217. The situation of Old Sarum, naturally strong, and rendered almost impregnable by its formidable lines of entrenchment, within which had risen successively the Brito-Roman, the Saxon, and the Norman towers, was in many respects inconvenient. There was a scarcity of water; and the cathedral stood so high and exposed that, according to an old tradition, "when the wind did blow they could not hear the priest say mass."

*"Est ibi defectus aquæ,"*

run the verses of Peter of Blois, himself a canon of Salisbury,—

*" . . . . sed copia cretæ  
Sævit ibi ventus, sed Philomela silet."*

In addition to this, after the fall of Bishop Roger, the castle of Old Sarum, which up to that time had been in the custody of the bishops<sup>k</sup>, was transferred by the King to the keeping of lay castellans. The whole area within the entrenchments, one quarter of which was occupied by the cathedral and its precincts, including the bishop's hall or palace, was under their jurisdiction; and the ecclesiastics complained of suffering much insult and annoyance from the castellans and their rude soldiery. On one occasion, after a solemn procession, they were shut out from their precincts, and compelled to remain without shelter during a long winter's night. At other times, even on solemn festivals, they were refused access to their own cathedral. "What has the house of the Lord to do with castles?" continues Peter of Blois: "it is the ark of the covenant in a temple of Baalim. Either place is a prison." "Let us," he writes, "in God's name descend into the level. There are rich champagnes and fertile valleys, abounding in the fruits of the

\* It was never, to all appearance, their own castle, but was placed in their keeping by the Crown.

earth, and profusely watered by living streams. There is a seat for the Virgin patroness of our Church to which the whole world cannot produce a parallel<sup>1</sup>."

Accordingly, the long-expressed wishes for a removal were carried into effect by Bishop Poore. The site of the new cathedral, according to one tradition, was determined by an arrow shot from the ramparts of Old Sarum; according to another, the site was revealed to Bishop Poore in a dream by the Virgin herself. There is evidence, however, that the lay inhabitants of Old Sarum as well as the Churchmen were beginning to find the limits of the castle somewhat too narrow, and that they were already removing to new habitations in the meadow of Merryfield, or Miryfield, where three streams—the Upper Avon, the Bourne, and the Wily—unite; and where, on the festival of St. Vitalis (April 28, 1220), the first stones of the existing cathedral of Salisbury were solemnly laid by Bishop Poore. (See Pt. I. § 1.) The strong defences which at the period of the Conquest had rendered the castle of Old Sarum a desirable place of refuge, were no longer so greatly needed; and the land on which the town and cathedral were building was the actual property of the Bishop.

Bishop Poore continued the building of his cathedral until his translation to Durham in the year 1228. He died in 1237 at his birth-place, Tarrant in Dorsetshire, where he had founded a house of Cistercian nuns. Among them his heart was interred; his body, according to the best authorities, was conveyed to Durham. In the new cathedral of Salisbury a cenotaph, with effigy, seems to have been erected to his memory. (Pt. I. § 29.)

With one striking exception, Robert Hallam, the Cardinal Bishop, who died at Constance (Bishop Beauchamp should perhaps also be mentioned), the successors of Bishop Poore up to the period of the Reformation can hardly be

<sup>1</sup> Pet. Blesensis, Epist. 105.

said to have been men of much mark or learning. Of the three who immediately followed him,—

[A.D. 1228—1246.] ROBERT BINGHAM (a tomb assigned to him exists in the north choir-aisle,—Pt. I. § 38.)—

[A.D. 1246—1256.] WILLIAM OF YORK, one of Henry III.'s chaplains, "legum peritus," and one of the bishops to whom the King addressed an especial remonstrance on their complaining of the simony which existed in the Church (see WINCHESTER, Bishop Ethelmar), and

[A.D. 1256—1262.] GILES OF BRIDPORT, whose very interesting tomb remains in the south choir aisle, (Pt. I. § 31.)—

little is known. The works at the new cathedral were steadily continued until it was consecrated by Archbishop Boniface of Savoy, brother of Edward I.'s Queen, in 1258, during the episcopate of Bishop Giles.

[A.D. 1262—1270.] WALTER DELAWYLE is said to have founded the collegiate church of St. Edmund in Salisbury. A much mutilated effigy, assigned to him, exists in the nave of the cathedral. (Pt. I. § 16.)

[A.D. 1270—1284.] ROBERT DE WICKHAMPTON,—

[A.D. 1284—1286.] WALTER SCAMMEL,—

[A.D. 1287.] HENRY BRAUNDSTON and LAWRENCE HAWKBURN, both of whom died within the year, and

[A.D. 1288—1291.] WILLIAM CORNER, need only be mentioned.

[A.D. 1291—1297.] NICHOLAS LONGESPÉE, who succeeded, was the fourth and youngest son of the first Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, by his Countess Ela.

[A.D. 1297—1315.] SIMON OF GHENT was, according to Leland, a prelate of considerable learning.

[A.D. 1315—1329.] ROGER MORTIVAL was the last male heir of an ancient Leicestershire family, in which county, at Knowsley, his birthplace, he founded a collegiate establishment for a Warden and Fellows. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford, where the library still contains

many MSS. which, as the inscriptions record, were the gift of Bishop Mortival when Archdeacon of Leicester.

[A.D. 1329—1375.] ROBERT WYVIL was, like his predecessor, a native of Leicestershire, "born," says Fuller, "of worthy and wealthy parentage, at Stanton-Wyvil in that county. At the instance of Queen Philippa, the Pope preferred him to the bishopric of Salisbury. It is hard to say whether he were more dunce or dwarf, more unlearned or unhand-some, insomuch that Walsingham tells us that, had the Pope ever *seen* him (as he no doubt *felt* him in his large fees), he would never have conferred the place on him<sup>a</sup>." Bishop Wyvil's ill-favouredness did not prevent his recovering for the see the castle of Sherborne and the chase of Bere, the principal events, apparently, of his long episcopate, since both of them find a record on his very curious brass. (Pt. I. § 29.)

[A.D. 1375, trans. to Bath and Wells 1388.] RALPH ERGHUM, consecrated at Bruges, was not improbably of Flemish birth.

[A.D. 1388—1395.] JOHN WALTHAM, "legum peritus," was Master of the Rolls in 1382; and in 1391, after his elevation to the see of Salisbury, became Lord High Treasurer. Bishop Waltham resisted the visitation of Archbishop Courtenay, even after that prelate had compelled the submission of Thomas Brantyngham, Bishop of Exeter, alleging privileges of exemption obtained from Pope Boniface IX. Waltham was excommunicated by the Archbishop, and was compelled to follow the example of his brother of Exeter. By direction of the young King, Richard II., in whose favour he stood high, he was interred (not without much general dissatisfaction, says Walsingham) in Westminster Abbey, where his brass remains, adjoining the monument of Edward I.

[A.D. 1395—1407.] RICHARD MITFORD, Confessor of the King, Richard II., suffered the fate of other royal fa-

<sup>a</sup> Worthies—Leicestershire.

avourites during the parliament called "wonderful" (because "many unexpected things happened in it"), and was imprisoned in the castle of Bristol until, in 1389, the King resumed the government; and Mitford, liberated from prison, was nominated to the see of Chichester. In 1395 he was translated to Salisbury. His fine tomb remains at the angle of the south transept. (Pt. I. § 23.)

In 1407, NICHOLAS BUBWITH was translated to Salisbury from London, and in the same year was again translated to Bath and Wells. (For the little recorded of him see WELLS.)

[A.D. 1408—1417.] ROBERT HALLAM, the most distinguished among the bishops of Salisbury before the Reformation, was nominated to that see four years after the death of William of Wykeham, the most illustrious of the bishops of Winchester. His origin and birth-place are alike uncertain, Pits alone asserting him to have been "*de regio sanguine in Angliâ natus.*" He seems to have been patronized by Archbishop Arundel, by whom he was made Archdeacon of Canterbury in 1401. He was already a Prebendary of York. In 1403 he was chosen Chancellor of Oxford, which office he resigned in 1406, when he left England for Rome, and was nominated Archbishop of York by Pope Gregory XII. This nomination, however, was subsequently withdrawn, but in the year 1407 (the same Pope appointing him) Hallam became Bishop of Salisbury. He was present at the Council of Pisa in 1409, and in 1411 received a cardinal's hat from Pope John XXIII.<sup>a</sup> During the famous Council of Constance (1415—1417), which witnessed the burning of Huss and of Jerome of Prague, and which had for its main objects the reformation of the clergy and the union of the Church under one acknowledged Pope, the Bishop of Salisbury was the great leader of the English, "the representative alike of their Church and of the insular

<sup>a</sup> The authority for this is Ciaconius, *Vit. Pontif. et Card.*, t. ii. coll. 803.

character." "With him the Teutonic independence of thought had not advanced farther than the strong impatience, which had long brooded in England, of the Papal tyranny, and its encroachment on the power of the State and of the nation. Throughout, Hallam was the right hand of the Emperor as asserting the civil supremacy. He alone took a high moral tone; to him a wicked Pope was but a wicked man. There was an unconscious Wycliffism about the bishop, who would perhaps hardly have hesitated to have burned Wycliffe himself.\*" He urged unswervingly the sweeping reformation of all orders in the Church; and when the charges against the abominable life of John XXIII. were brought forward, "the honest islander broke out in righteous indignation, 'that the Pope deserved to be burned at the stake.'" After the burning of Huss, and whilst the affair of Jerome of Prague was before the Council, Bishop Hallam "stood almost alone in the assertion of the great maxim, 'God willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live.' He, almost alone, condemned the punishment of death for heresy†." The Council might have terminated very differently, and an effective reformation of the clergy might have been established, but for the death of Bishop Hallam (Sept. 4, 1417) in the castle of Gottleib, close to Constance. "On his wisdom, on his resolute firmness, the Emperor had relied; his authority held together the Germans and the English. . . . Only a few days after his death, the latter fell off to the Italian party. The Emperor was compelled to consent to the election of a Pope‡," and the golden opportunity for reform was lost. At Bishop Hallam's burial in the cathedral of Constance the Emperor Sigismund was himself present. A brass, with his effigy, still marks the place of his

\* Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vi. 174, where the whole story of the Council should be read.

† *Lat. Christ.*, vi. 214.

‡ *Ibid.*, vi. 223.

interment. From the style of art, it has been conjectured that this brass was sent from England at a subsequent period.

[A.D. 1417—1426.] JOHN CHANDLER, educated at Winchester, was the author of the short life of Wykeham which has served as a foundation for all later biographies of the great prelate.

[A.D. 1427, trans. 1437.] ROBERT NEVILLE, fourth son of Ralph Earl of Westmoreland, by Joanna of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV., was translated to Durham after he filled the see of Salisbury for ten years. (For a further notice see DURHAM.)

[A.D. 1438—1450.] WILLIAM AYSCOUGH was murdered by a body of Wiltshire peasantry during the insurrection of Jack Cade, which produced lesser outbreaks in different parts of England. On the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, 1450, they surrounded the church of Edington, near Westbury (where the bishops had a palace), dragged the Bishop, still in his sacred vestments, from the altar at which he had just celebrated mass, and carried him to the top of an adjoining hill, where they struck off his head, and divided his bloodstained vestments between them as memorials. His body, left naked on the place of the murder, was afterwards buried in the house of the Bonhommes at Edington. The adjoining palace was plundered. The insurgents asserted that their Bishop was always absent with the King, Henry VI., as his confessor, and kept no hospitality in his own diocese; but probably Bishop Ayscough's knowledge of reading and writing was quite sufficient excuse for his murderers, as in the case of the unhappy clerk of Chatham.

[A.D. 1450—1481.] RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, son of Sir Walter Beauchamp, and grandson of Lord Beauchamp of Powick, was Ayscough's successor. He was translated from the see of Hereford, and was subsequently employed on various diplomatic missions, principally to the court of Burgundy, then perhaps the most magnificent in Europe. In 1471 he

was one of the conservators of the truce with the Duke of Brittany. In 1477 he was installed Dean of Windsor, and was constituted by Edward IV. master of the architectural works then in progress there, the most important of which was the rebuilding of St. George's Chapel. At Salisbury he built the great hall of the episcopal palace, and his own richly adorned chantry, which stood on the south side of the Lady-chapel before it was destroyed by Wyatt. Beauchamp fills no undistinguished place among the company of English prelates who, either contemporary with, or following in the steps of, Wykeham, about this time raised their cathedrals to the highest pitch of splendour. For his services at Windsor he was appointed Chancellor of the Order of the Garter<sup>r</sup>.

[A.D. 1482—1485.] LIONEL WOODVILLE, fifth son of Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers, and brother of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV., became Bishop of Salisbury in 1482; and two years later witnessed the downfall of his house on the accession to power of Richard III. The Duke of Buckingham, brother-in-law of the Bishop, was beheaded in the market-place at Salisbury, shortly before the battle of Bosworth. "The deep-revolving witty Buckingham" had become too dangerous:—

"The first was I that helped thee to the crown,  
The last was I that felt thy tyranny;  
O, in the battle think on Buckingham,  
And die in terror of thy guiltiness."

RICHARD III., Act v. Sc. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Bishop Beauchamp was the first Chancellor of the Order. The dignity was granted to him and his successors by a charter of Edward IV., and the bishops of Salisbury continued to hold it until the deprivation of Cardinal Campeggio, *temp.* Henry VIII. From that time until the reign of Charles II. it was in the hands of laymen. In 1671, on the representation of Bishop Ward, it was recovered for the see of Salisbury; but when Berkshire (in which county St. George's Chapel is situated) was attached in 1836 to the diocese of Oxford, the Chancellorship of the Garter passed to the bishops of that see, who continue to hold it.

(See also the first scene of the same act, in which Buckingham is led to execution.) The Bishop's accumulated sorrows are said to have caused his death in the following year. The tomb assigned to him is at the angle of the north transept. (Pt. I. § 21.)

[A.D. 1485, trans. 1493.] THOMAS LANGTON was translated to the see of Winchester. Both there and at Salisbury he was a good patron of letters, although active in the suppression of Wickliffite doctrines, which had been making steady way, especially in the diocese of Salisbury.

[A.D. 1493—1499.] JOHN BLYTH: an effigy supposed to be his is at the end of the north transept. (Pt. I. § 21.)

[A.D. 1500, trans. to Canterbury 1501.] HENRY DEANE.

[A.D. 1502—1524.] EDMUND AUDLEY, son of James Touchet, Lord Audley, is principally noticeable for the beautiful chantry he built for himself, and which remains, happily in its original situation. (Pt. I. § 26.) The pulpit in the church of St. Mary at Oxford was his gift to the place of his education.

[A.D. 1524, deprived 1534.] LAWRENCE CAMPEGGIO, Cardinal of St. Anastasius, was nominated by Pope Clement to the see of Salisbury on the death of Audley. He was subsequently despatched to England to hear and determine, in conjunction with Wolsey, the question of Henry VIII.'s divorce. The result need not be entered upon here. In 1534, at the time of Wolsey's disgrace, Cardinal Campeggio was deprived of his see by Act of Parliament.

[A.D. 1535, deprived 1538.] NICHOLAS SHAXTON, President of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, and a dependant of Cromwell's, at first a strong upholder of the royal supremacy, resigned his see in 1538, as did Latimer and some other bishops, on account of the famous six articles said to have been devised by Bishop Gardiner. (See WINCHESTER—Gardiner.) Shaxton, with the others, was imprisoned, and again accused in 1546, of denying the real presence. He was condemned to the stake, but recanted, and subsequently be-

came a decided persecutor of the reformed faith, preaching fierce sermons at the martyrdom of Anne Askew and others. He was made suffragan to the Bishop of Ely, and on his death at Cambridge, in 1556, was buried in the chapel of Gonville Hall.

[A.D. 1539—1557.] JOHN CAPON, or SALCOT, was translated from Bangor. He was a thoroughly chameleon prelate, changing with the changing times; at first of the "old profession," then Protestant under Edward VI., when he was one of the bishops chosen to correct the liturgy; and again Romanist and repentant on the accession of Mary, when he sat as one of the judges at the trial of Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester. He greatly impaired the revenues of the bishopric, falling in with the spirit of the time, and the perpetual greed of the courtiers. (See EXETER—Bishop Veysey.) Fuller observes that it "seems as if it were given to binominous bishops to be impairers of their churches;" instancing among others, Veysey and Salcot.

In 1557 a certain Peter Petow was nominated to the see by the Pope. Queen Mary, however, would not suffer him to take possession. She appointed Francis Mallet, but died before his consecration, and the bishop elect was ejected on the accession of Elizabeth.

The first Protestant bishop of Salisbury is also one of the most distinguished prelates who ever filled the see:—

[A.D. 1560—1571.] JOHN JEWEL, the famous author of the "Apology of the Church of England," was born in the year 1522, at Bowden in the parish of Berry Narbor, on the north coast of Devonshire. The estate had been in the hands of his ancestors for nearly two centuries; but the family, although ancient and entitled to bear arms, does not seem to have risen above the rank of the substantial franklin. John was one of ten children. He received his first lessons from his maternal uncle, whose name was Bellamy, and was afterwards sent to the Grammar-school at Barnstaple, where his future adversary, Thomas Harding, had

also been educated. At the age of thirteen, Jewel became a Postmaster of Merton College, Oxford, and was placed under the care of John Parkhurst, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. In his seventeenth year he was elected to a Scholarship at Corpus, in which college he remained until the accession of Queen Mary. Jewel attached himself from the first to the cause of the Reformation, and was a diligent hearer of Peter Martyr, whom Edward VI. had appointed Professor of Divinity at Oxford. The Fellows of Corpus were on the opposite side; and accordingly, when Jewel, after Mary's accession, refused to be present at mass, he was expelled, in spite of his exemplary life and his great reputation for learning. "I should love thee, Jewel," the dean of his college used to say to him, "if thou wert not a Zuinglian; in thy faith I hold thee a heretic, but surely in thy life thou art an angel; thou art very good and honest, but a Lutheran." Jewel remained for a short time after his expulsion at Broadgates Hall in Oxford; and the University, kinder than his College, chose him Public Orator; in which capacity he addressed a letter of congratulation to the Queen,—a composition which called for the exercise of no small tact and prudence. "Whilst reading this letter to Dr. Tresham, the Vice-Chancellor," says Humphrey, in his *Life of Jewel*, "the great bell of Christ Church (which this doctor having caused to be new run a few days before had christened by the name of Mary) tolled, and hearing her pleasant voice now call him to his beloved mass, he burst out into an exclamation, 'O delicate and sweet harmony! O beautiful Mary, how musically she sounds, how strangely she pleaseth my ears!' So Mr. Jewel's sweet pen was forced to give way to the more acceptable tinkling of this new lady. And we may easily conjecture how the poor man took it."

The chief enemy of the new Orator was Dr. Marshall, Dean of Christ Church, by whose contrivance the usual string of propositions confirmatory of the 'old profession'

was sent to Jewel for his signature. "The poor man," says Humphrey, "having neither friend nor time allowed him to consult with, took the pen in his hand, and saying, 'Have you a mind to see how well I can write?' subscribed his name hastily and with great reluctance." This submission, however, was not sufficient, and he would have been at once imprisoned had he not set out on foot the same night for London, carefully avoiding the main roads. In London, which he reached after many difficulties and dangers, he lay concealed for a short time, and then escaped across the sea to Frankfort, where he made a public recantation of his Oxford subscription. From Frankfort he passed to Strasbourg, where he was received into the house of Peter Martyr, whom he afterwards accompanied to Zurich. At each of these places there was a considerable body of English exiles, whom, during the intervals of his studies, Jewel was occupied in "consoling and confirming;" but although he "used his utmost endeavour" he was unable to prevent the schism of the Frankfort reformers, led by Knox and Goodman.

Shortly after the accession of Elizabeth (Nov. 1558), Jewel returned to England, where he was first appointed one of the commissioners for confirming the reformed religion in the western counties; and in January, 1559-60, was consecrated to the see of Salisbury, which had been vacant nearly three years. In 1562 he published in Latin his well-known "Apology of the Church of England," a book which was speedily translated into every European language, and of which the English version was soon to be found chained to its lectern in almost every English church. "The Apology," says Hallam, "is written with spirit; the style is terse, the arguments pointed, the authorities much to the purpose; so that its effects are not surprising." It was replied to by Thomas Harding, then a Professor at Louvain, but Treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral at the time

• Lit. Hist., pt. ii, ch. 2.

of Jewel's appointment to that see. Harding was a vigorous defender of the Papal pretensions. He was born at Combe Martin, the adjoining parish to that of Berry Nabour, and was educated, like Jewel, at Barnstaple. We may therefore, perhaps, conjecture that a slight dash of provincial jealousy added its bitterness to the controversy between the now prosperous bishop and the exile "for conscience' sake." In 1567 Jewel published his "Defence of the Apology." A minor controversy had been for some time in progress between the same disputants, provoked by a sermon preached by Jewel at Paul's Cross, in which he denied the antiquity of the principal Romish dogmas.

In 1569 Bishop Jewel replied to the bull in which Pope Pius IV. excommunicated Queen Elizabeth; and in a sermon at Paul's Cross defended the ceremonies and state of the Church against the attacks of Cartwright and the Puritans with as much zeal as he had already displayed when protecting them from the assaults of Rome. This was his latest work. His health, which had always been feeble, was worn out by incessant labour. He died, Sept. 22, 1571, at Monkton Farleigh, and was buried in his own cathedral, where his tombstone, from which the brass has been removed, still remains, nearly adjoining that of another, though somewhat different, champion of the Church,—Bishop Wyvil. (Pt. I. § 29.) Its original place was in the centre of the choir.

The library, over the cloisters at Salisbury, was built by Bishop Jewel. "His doors," says his biographer, Humphreys, "stood always open to the poor, and he would frequently send his charitable reliefs to prisoners. . . . But, perceiving the great want of learned men in his times, his greatest care was to have ever with him in his house half-a-dozen or more poor lads which he brought up in learning." Many students also were maintained by him at Oxford, one of whom was Richard Hooker, like himself a native of Devonshire. For the well-known story of the Bishop's

'walking-staff' which he lent to Hooker when the young student, making his way from Oxford on foot, visited his patron at Salisbury, the reader may consult Walton's admirable life of the 'Judicious' Doctor.

"A Jewel," says Fuller, "sometimes taken for a single precious stone, is properly a collection of many, orderly set together to their best advantage. So severall eminences met in this worthy man. Naturals, artificials, (amongst which I recount his studied memory, deserving, as well as Theodectes the Sophister, the surname of Mnemonicus,) morals, but principally spirituals. So devout in the pew where he prayed, diligent in the pulpit where he preached, grave on the bench where he assisted, mild in the consistory where he judged, pleasant at the table where he fed, patient in the bed where he died, that well it were if, in relation to him, 'secundum usum Sarum' were made precedential to all posterity. . . . It is hard to say whether his soul or his ejaculations arrived first in heaven, seeing he prayed dying, and died praying†."

[A.D. 1571—1576.] EDMUND GHEAST was translated from Rochester, of which see he was the first Protestant bishop. Little has been recorded of him. At Salisbury he furnished with books the library which his predecessor, Bishop Jewel, had built. His tombstone remains near that of Jewel in the north choir-aisle.

[A.D. 1577, trans. 1588.] JOHN PIERS was translated from Salisbury to York. As Bishop of Salisbury he preached before Queen Elizabeth on occasion of the solemn thanksgiving for the defeat of the Armada.

[A.D. 1591—1596.] JOHN COLDWELL "was chiefly remarkable for three things: (1) as having been a physician before he became a bishop; (2) as having been the first married bishop that ever filled the see of Sarum; (3) as having alienated Sherborne Castle from the see to Sir Walter Raleigh."

† Church History, bk. ix. sect. 3.

[A.D. 1598—1615.] “HENRY COTTON, one of Elizabeth’s chaplains, had,” says Sir John Harrington, “nineteen children by one wife, which is no ordinary blessing, and most of them sonnes. His wife’s name was Patience; the name of which,” he adds, spitishly, “I have heard in few wives, the quality in none.” Bishop Cotton, who was born of a good family, at Warblington, in Hampshire, had been Elizabeth’s godson; and on his promotion to the see of Salisbury the Queen observed that “she had blessed many of her godsons, and that now this godson should bless her.” The Bishop was a contemporary of William Cotton, who filled the see of Exeter from 1597 to 1620; and Fuller tells us that Queen Elizabeth was wont “merrily to say, alluding to the plenty of clothing in those parts, that ‘she hoped she had now well Cottoned the West.’”

[A.D. 1615—1617.] ROBERT ABBOT was the elder brother of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, like whom he was a decided opponent of the school of Laud. He was of a gentler disposition, however, than the Archbishop, and his learning was more profound. “George,” says Fuller, “was the more plausible preacher, Robert the greater scholar; George the abler statesman, Robert the deeper divine. Gravity did frown in George, and smile in Robert.” The published works of Bishop Abbot, mostly attacks on Rome, were numerous. Of

[A.D. 1618—1619.] MARTIN FOTHERBY, and

[A.D. 1620—1621.] ROBERT TOWNSON, little is recorded.

[A.D. 1621—1641.] JOHN DAVENANT was one of the four divines sent by James I. to attend the Synod of Dort.

[A.D. 1641, trans. 1660.] BRIAN DUPPA, deprived almost immediately after his consecration, spent the years of the Commonwealth at Richmond, and was translated to Winchester after the Restoration. (See that Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1660, trans. 1663.] HUMPHREY HENCHMAN, who had been instrumental in aiding the escape of Charles after the battle of Worcester, was appointed Bishop of Salis-

bury on the Restoration, and in 1663 was translated to London.

[A.D. 1663—1665.] JOHN EARLE, "a person," says Clarendon, "very notable for his elegance in the Greek and Latin tongues . . . and of a conversation so pleasant and delightful, so very innocent and so very facetious, that no man's company was more desired and more loved. . . . In the first settling of the Prince (Charles) his family, he was made one of his chaplains, and attended on him when he was forced to leave the kingdom. He was among the few excellent men who never had, nor could have, an enemy but such a one who was an enemy to all learning and virtue, and therefore would never make himself known". Dr. Earle remained in close attendance on Prince Charles throughout all his wanderings until the Restoration, when he was made Bishop of Worcester, and translated to Salisbury in 1663. As an author, his most remarkable work is his "*Microcosmographia, or a Piece of the World Discovered in Essays and Characters*," published anonymously in 1628. "In some of these short characters," says Hallam, "Earle is worthy of comparison with La Bruyere. . . . In all we find an acute observation and a happy humour of expression. . . . It is one of those books which give us a picturesque idea of the manners of our fathers at a period now become remote; and for this reason, were there no other, it would deserve to be read".

[A.D. 1665—1667.] ALEXANDER HYDE was first cousin of the great Lord Chancellor.

[A.D. 1667—1688.] SETH WARD, educated at Cambridge, whence he was compelled to remove by the Parliamentary Commissioners, found a refuge at Oxford, where he was appointed Savilian Professor of Astronomy, and was enabled to hold his preferment without taking the covenant. On the Restoration he was appointed Bishop of Exeter

\* Clarendon's *Memoirs* of his own Life.

\* Lit. Hist., pt. iii. ch. 7.

- (1662, see that Cathedral); and was translated in 1667 to Salisbury. Here he made such repairs to the cathedral as were necessary after the disorders of the civil war, (these, however, were not important—see Pt. I. § 4,) and restored the episcopal palace, which had fallen into complete ruin. A survey of the entire cathedral was also made at Bishop Ward's request by Sir Christopher Wren, principally with a view to the security of the spire. "I have seen," writes his biographer, Dr. Pope, "many metropolitan churches, but never any, nay, not that glorious fabric of St. Peter's at Rome, which exceeds the imagination of all those who have not beheld it, was kept so neat as this in his time; nay, the sacrifice therein was as pure; *there* might be heard excellent preaching, and divine service celebrated with exemplary piety, admirable decency, and celestial music." Besides other benefactions to the city, he founded in it a hospital for widows of the clergy of the diocese. Bishop Ward's learning was considerable; his charity and hospitality very great. He was one of the first to assist in the establishment of the Royal Society. He died at Knightsbridge in January, 1688 (O.S.), having long survived his faculties; and "without knowing," says Lord Macaulay, "that great events, of which not the least important had passed under his own roof, had saved his church and his country from ruin." James II. had lodged in the episcopal palace during his visit to Salisbury. Bishop Ward was buried in his own cathedral, where a tablet to his memory exists in the south transept.
- [A.D. 1689—1714-15.] GILBERT BURNET succeeded. The life of Bishop Burnet belongs so completely to the history of his time that it will be only necessary in this place to record its principal events very briefly. Burnet was born at Edinburgh, Sept. 18, 1643. His father's family had been long settled in the shire of Aberdeen, and it was at the University of Aberdeen that the future bishop was educated. After visiting England and the Continent, Burnet

returned to Scotland in 1665, when he was ordained by the Bishop of Edinburgh, and presented to the living of Saltoun. In the disputes between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, Burnet's principles of moderation exposed him to the ill-will of both parties. He was frequently consulted, however, by those who were at the head of the Scottish Government, and it was by his advice that some of the more moderate Presbyterians were put into the vacant churches. From 1669 to 1674 he was Professor of Divinity at Glasgow. In 1673 he visited London, and in the following year returned to settle there permanently, being appointed Preacher of the Rolls' Chapel and Lecturer at St. Clement's. At this time he wrote his "History of the Reformation." He left England on the accession of James, having lost the favour of the Court before the end of the previous reign; and after making the tour of Europe, settled at the Hague by the invitation of the Prince of Orange, whom he accompanied on his expedition to England. In 1689 he was nominated Bishop of Salisbury, and published in 1699 his "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles." His "History of his Own Times" was published by his son, after the Bishop's death, which occurred in 1714-15. He was interred in London, in the parish church of St. James's, Clerkenwell.

For the active part taken in the political and other events of his time by Bishop Burnet, the reader should have recourse to the pages of Lord Macaulay, whose general estimate of the Bishop may here be added:—

"The fame of Burnet has been attacked with singular malice and pertinacity. The attack began early in his life, and is still carried on with undiminished vigour, though he has now been more than a century and a quarter in his grave. He is indeed as fair a mark as factious animosity and petulant wit could desire. The faults of his understanding and temper lie on the surface and cannot be missed. They were not the faults which are ordinarily considered as belonging to his country. Alone among the

many Scotchmen who have raised themselves to distinction and prosperity in England, he had that character which satirists, novelists, and dramatists have agreed to ascribe to Irish adventurers. His high animal spirits, his boastfulness, his undissembled vanity, his propensity to blunder, his provoking indiscretion, his unabashed audacity, afforded inexhaustible subjects of ridicule to the Tories. . . . Yet Burnet, though open in many respects to ridicule, and even to serious censure, was no contemptible man. His parts were quick, his industry unwearied, his reading various and most extensive. He was at once an historian, an antiquary, a theologian, a preacher, a pamphleteer, a debater, and an active political leader; and in every one of these characters made himself conspicuous among able competitors. The many spirited tracts which he wrote on passing events are only now known to the curious; but his 'History of his Own Times,' his 'History of the Reformation,' his 'Exposition of the Articles,' his 'Discourse of Pastoral Care,' his 'Life of Hale,' his 'Life of Wilmot' are still reprinted, nor is any good private library without them. Against such a fact as this all the efforts of detractors are in vain. A writer whose voluminous works in several branches of literature find numerous readers one hundred and thirty years after his death, may have had great faults, but must also have had great merits."

[A.D. 1715, trans. 1721.] **WILLIAM TALBOT** was the only son of William Talbot of Stourton Castle in Staffordshire, a descendant from a branch of the house of Shrewsbury. The Bishop, who was father of Lord Chancellor Talbot, was translated to Durham in 1721.

[A.D. 1721, trans. to Winchester in 1723.] **RICHARD WILLIS.**

[A.D. 1723, trans. to Winchester in 1734.] **BENJAMIN HOADLEY.** (See **WINCHESTER.**)

[A.D. 1734, trans. to London 1749.] **THOMAS SHERLOCK**, son of Dr. William Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, was educated at Eton and Cambridge. In 1716 he became Dean of Chichester; in 1727 Bishop of Bangor; in 1734 he was promoted to the see of Salisbury, and after declining the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1747, was translated to London in 1749. He died in 1761. The character of Bishop Sherlock shines out with unusual brightness through the gloom of perhaps the darkest and most lifeless period in the history of the English Church. He was one of the most effective and influential preachers of his time, and his sermons have been frequently reprinted.

[A.D. 1749, trans. to York 1757.] **JOHN GILBERT**.

[A.D. 1757, trans. to Winchester 1761.] **JOHN THOMAS**.

[A.D. 1761, trans. to York in the same year.] **ROBERT DRUMMOND**.

[A.D. 1761—1766.] **JOHN THOMAS**, (Second).

[A.D. 1766—1782.] **JOHN HUME**.

[A.D. 1782, trans. to Durham 1791.] **SHUTE BARRINGTON**.  
(See **DURHAM**.)

[A.D. 1791—1807.] **JOHN DOUGLAS** was the son of a Scottish merchant at Pittenweem in Fife. As chaplain of the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards, he was present at the battle of Fontenoy, where "he was by no means an inactive spectator, performing the part of aid-de-camp to General Campbell, who employed him to carry orders to the English regiments which protected the village where he and some other generals were stationed. An officer of his acquaintance, advancing at the head of a squadron of dragoons, invited him to join the charge, telling him to remember he was a Douglas, an invitation which the chaplain could not accept, encumbered as he was with the wills and other property of many officers and soldiers engaged in the battle. Indeed, the chaplain was so laden with watches, crown-pieces, and other weighty property, that it was with great

inconvenience, augmented by fear lest his pockets should give way under the weight of their contents, that he reached a place of safety\*." After his return to England he became tutor to Lord Pulteney, son of the Earl of Bath, whom he accompanied on his travels. In 1749 Dr. Douglas was presented by Lord Bath to a living in Shropshire, and his literary reputation soon became considerable. "The Criterion," an essay on the distinction between true and false miracles, was published in 1754; and his replies to Lauder's attack on Milton, and to Bowers' "History of the Popes," both which writers were Scottish impostors of no ordinary impudence, are thus referred to by Goldsmith in his "Retaliation:"—

" Here Douglas retires from his toils to relax,  
The scourge of impostors, the terror of quacks;  
Come all ye quack bards and ye quacking divines,  
Come and dance on the spot where your tyrant reclines.  
When satire and censure encircled his throne  
I feared for your safety, I feared for my own;  
But now he is gone, and we want a detector,  
Our Dodds shall be pious, our Kenricks shall lecture;  
Macpherson write bombast and call it a style,  
Our Townshead make speeches, and I shall compile.  
New Lauders and Bowers the Tweed shall cross over,  
No *countryman* living their tricks to discover;  
Detection her taper shall quench to a spark,  
And Scotchmen meet Scotchmen, and cheat in the dark."

Dr. Douglas subsequently edited Clarendon's "Diary and Letters," and prepared for publication the journals kept by Captain Cook during his celebrated voyages. In 1787 he was nominated Bishop of Carlisle, and in the following year Dean of Windsor—a preferment which he held till his death. He was translated to Salisbury in 1791. He died in 1807, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

Bishop Douglas was a member of the well-known club

\* Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury.

established by Johnson and Burke, and appears among the rest in Goldsmith's "Retaliation:"—

"And Douglas is pudding, substantial and plain."

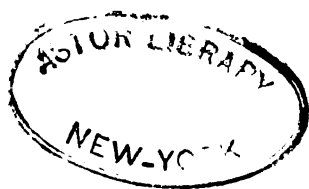
The succeeding bishops need only be named:—

[A.D. 1807—1825.] JOHN FISHER.

[A.D. 1825—1837.] THOMAS BURGESS.

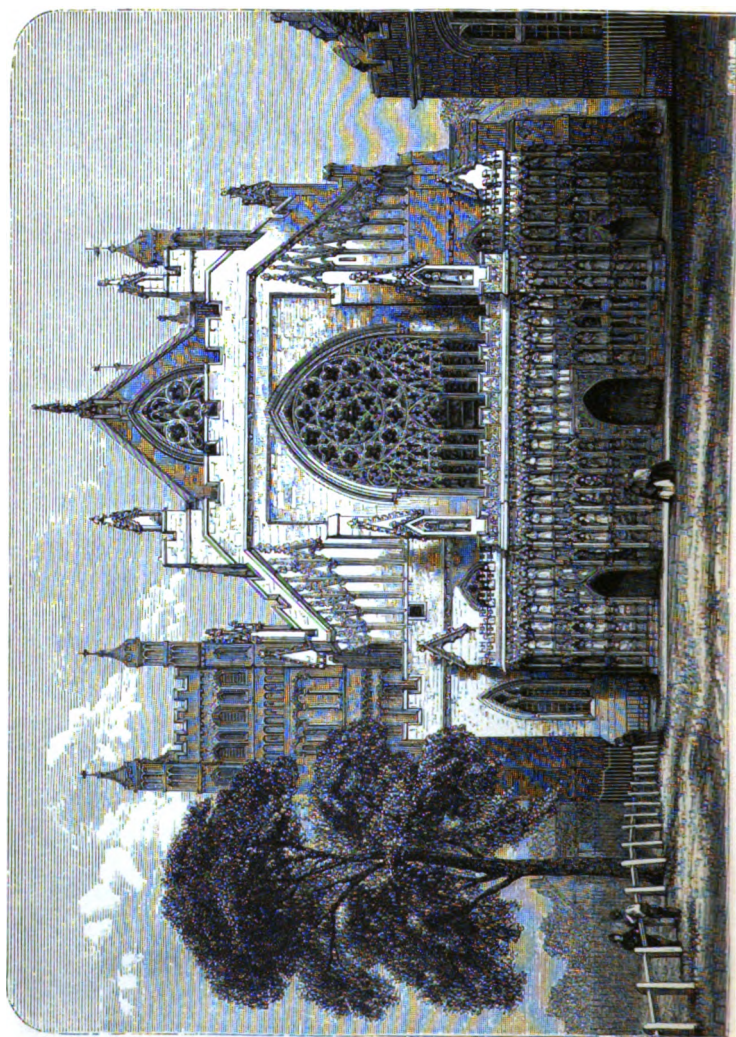
[A.D. 1837—1854.] EDWARD DENISON.

[A.D. 1854.] WALTER KERR HAMILTON.





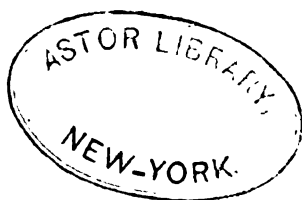
EXETER CATHEDRAL.



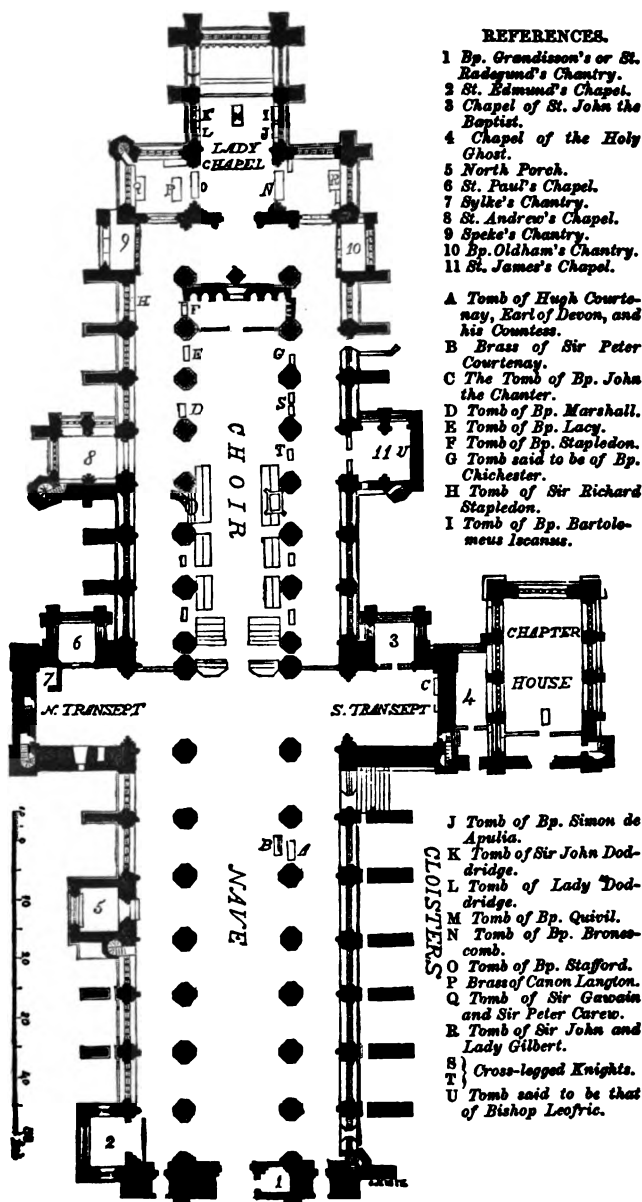
# EXETER CATHEDRAL.



PORTION OF THE WEST FRONT.







# REFERENCES.

- 1 *Bp. Grandisson's or St. Radegund's Chantry.*
- 2 *St. Edmund's Chapel.*
- 3 *Chapel of St. John the Baptist.*
- 4 *Chapel of the Holy Ghost.*
- 5 *North Porch.*
- 6 *St. Paul's Chapel.*
- 7 *Sylke's Chantry.*
- 8 *St. Andrew's Chapel.*
- 9 *Speke's Chantry.*
- 10 *Bp. Oldham's Chantry.*
- 11 *St. James's Chapel.*

- A *Tomb of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and his Countess.*  
 B *Brass of Sir Peter Courtenay.*  
 C *The Tomb of Bp. John the Chanter.*  
 D *Tomb of Bp. Marshall.*  
 E *Tomb of Bp. Lacy.*  
 F *Tomb of Bp. Stapledon.*  
 G *Tomb said to be of Bp. Chichester.*  
 H *Tomb of Sir Richard Stapledon.*  
 I *Tomb of Bp. Bartolomeus Icanus.*

- J *Tomb of Bp. Simon de Apulia.*  
 K *Tomb of Sir John Doddridge.*  
 L *Tomb of Lady Doddridge.*  
 M *Tomb of Bp. Quivil.*  
 N *Tomb of Bp. Bronescomb.*  
 O *Tomb of Bp. Stafford.*  
 P *Brass of Canon Langton.*  
 Q *Tomb of Sir Gawain and Sir Peter Carew.*  
 R *Tomb of Sir John and Lady Gilbert.*  
 S } *Cross-legged Knights.*  
 T }  
 U *Tomb said to be that of Bishop Leofric.*

GROUND PLAN, EXETER CATHEDRAL.

# EXETER CATHEDRAL.

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## PART I.

### History and Details.

**T**HE visitor, before entering the cathedral, should be supplied with a short notice of its general history, and with the dates of its various portions.

I. A Benedictine monastery, dedicated to St. Peter, existed within the walls of Exeter at least as early as the reign of Athelstan, and perhaps still earlier, since it may possibly have been the same religious establishment to which Winfred of Crediton (St. Boniface) was sent toward the end of the seventh century, and in which he took his first vows. The monastery was much injured by the Northmen in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and when the united sees for Devon and Cornwall were removed from Crediton to Exeter, in 1050, the conventual church of St. Peter was taken for the new cathedral.

II. Of this *Saxon* church, which occupied part of the site of the present building, no portion remains. **WILLIAM WARELWAST** (1107—1136), the third bishop after the Conquest, commenced a new edifice, rich in what was then considered, as opposed to the simpler Saxon work, the “marvellous and sumptuous” architecture of the Normans. This cathedral seems to have been

in progress until the episcopate of HENRY MARSHALL (1194—1206), by whom it is said to have been completed, "according to the plan and foundation which his predecessors had laid." In the course of its erection it had been much injured by fire, at the time of the siege of Exeter by Stephen, in 1136. The portions which remain of this *Norman* cathedral are the two transept towers.

III. In the latter half of the thirteenth century, Bishop WALTER BRONESCOMB (1258—1280), a native of Devonshire, commenced a series of new works, which led to the gradual removal of the Norman cathedral and to the erection of the present edifice. These were in progress from the time of Bishop Bronescomb to that of Bishop Oldham (1270—1519), and the Fabric Rolls, which are preserved in an uninterrupted series from 1279 to 1439, enable us to trace the gradual completion of many of the works, and to assign them to their different periods. The Lady Chapel was partly built during the episcopate of Bishop Bronescomb (1258—1280), and partly during that of Bishop Quivil (1280—1291), who also constructed the transepts out of Bishop Warelwast's Norman towers. The chapels of St. Mary Magdalene and of St. Gabriel the Archangel, north and south of the Lady Chapel, were, as well as the lower part of the latter, the work of Bishop Bronescomb. Bishop Stapledon (1308—1326) commenced the choir; which Bishop Grandisson (1327—1369) completed, as well as the nave, and (perhaps) western screen, and porches. From these dates it will be seen that the

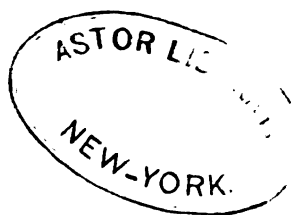
greater part of the existing cathedral belongs to the *Decorated* period of Gothic architecture. It is, in fact, one of the most interesting examples of this period remaining in England; and its details, which well deserve careful study, will be found of extreme beauty, and full of variety and instruction.

IV. As in other English cathedrals, many of the ancient decorations and arrangements of Exeter were removed or defaced by the 'visitors' of Queen Elizabeth, who in the summer of 1559 (the year after her accession) were appointed to compel the general observance of the Protestant formularies. During the Commonwealth the cathedral (much of the painted glass in which had been destroyed, and which had been otherwise defaced,) was divided into two portions by a brick wall, erected upon the site of the rood-loft, and also extending across the entrances to the choir aisles. The nave, called "West Peter's," was delivered over to an Independent preacher, named Stuckeley, one of Cromwell's chaplains; whilst a Presbyterian named Ford presided in the choir, or "East Peter's." Both preachers "enjoyed great comfort and quiet" until the Restoration, when they were happily expelled. The chapter-house, during this "general eclipse," had been turned into a stable; and the bishop's palace, the deanery, and the canons' houses, into barracks. The partition in the cathedral was pulled down, and other important restorations made, by Bishop Ward (1662—1667).

V. St. Peter, the patron saint of the Saxon conventual church, retained his place after its appropriation as

the new cathedral. About the year 1286, during the episcopate of Bishop Quivil, the district of the city in which the cathedral with its dependent buildings is situated, was separated by strong walls and gates, forming what is now known as "The Close." Similar arrangements, by which the cathedral was converted into a fortress within a fortress, were made in nearly all the episcopal cities of England immediately after the Conquest; thus supplying the Churchmen with their own secure stronghold, whilst another quarter of the city was generally assigned to the castle, with its men-at-arms. In Exeter, the cathedral lies on the south side of the High-street, which is in fact the "Ikenild way" that divided into two parts the Brito-Roman city of Isca; the castle occupies the "Rougemont" or "Red hill," at the north-east angle of the walls. The walls and gates of the cathedral close have long since disappeared; but the district is still exempt from the jurisdiction of the corporation.

VI. Excellent distant views of the cathedral may be obtained from the Alphington causeway, and from the river and canal banks. It there appears on high ground, rising well above the masses of building, some of them antique and picturesque, which slope to the water side. Still more distant prospects of the cathedral and of the entire city are to be gained from all the high ground in the neighbourhood. The finest is perhaps that from Waddlesdown, in the parish of Whitstone, about four miles from Exeter, embracing the entire estuary of the Exe, the northern border of Dartmoor, and a wide fringe





NORTHERN TOWER.

of sea. From this point the visitor may pass in review the fortunes of the so often besieged city that lies spread out beneath him, with its dark cathedral towers rising like landmarks above the lower roofs. All these distant views are the more to be valued from the difficulty of obtaining anything like a satisfactory near prospect. The south side of nave and choir is entirely hidden by ordinary houses, and by the episcopal palace and gardens; and it is only the north side which is open, the ground about which is turfed with bright greensward close under the grey walls, and planted with a few elm trees, whose outstretching branches contrast pleasantly with the sharper lines of the building and its dark masses of stone. [See Plate I.] "As we walk round this, we cannot but consider that the cathedral, though far from lofty, and presenting none of the majestic features of several of its sister churches, is nevertheless a fine composition. The aisles of choir and nave, intercepted by the stately Norman towers, farther broken by the prominence of their chantries, and spanned by flying buttresses richly pinnacled; the large, pure windows, which pierce both aisle and clerestory; the roof, highly pitched, and finished with crest-tiles, form a decidedly graceful and pleasing whole." — *J. W. Hewett*<sup>a</sup>. A further notice of the exterior of the cathedral will be found in § xxxix.

VII. The ascertained dates of the various parts of the cathedral may here be briefly recapitulated :—

<sup>a</sup> History and Description of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter. It is right to acknowledge the great assistance we have derived from Mr. Hewett's careful labours.

North and south transept towers, William Warelwast, (1107—1136).

Lady-chapel (partly), Walter Bronescomb, (1258—1280).

——— (completed), Peter Quivil, (1280—1291).

Choir (commenced), Walter de Stapledon, (1308—1326).

——— (completed,)—nave, western screen, (?) John Grandisson, 1327—1369.)

The expense of these various works was defrayed chiefly by the bishops themselves, but partly by subsidies from the clergy and from the various religious houses in the diocese.

VIII. The *west front*, [Frontispiece], usually regarded as the latest work of Bishop Grandisson, who died in 1369, is of very high interest; and although it cannot compete with those of Wells or Lincoln, (both of earlier date,) may justly claim great beauty as an architectural composition<sup>b</sup>. It recedes in three stories, the lowest of which is formed by the sculptured screen; the second contains the great west window, on each side of which is a graduated arcade; and in the third, or gable, is a triangular window surmounted by a niche, containing a figure of St. Peter, the patron saint of the cathedral. The *screen* deserves the most careful examination. It is pierced by three doorways, and surrounded by a series of niches, in which are the statues of kings, warriors, saints, and apostles, guardians, as it were, of the entrance to the sanctuary. These figures

<sup>b</sup> Whether the west front is really of Grandisson's time is perhaps doubtful. See Part III., Note A, for a further discussion of this subject. It has been assigned by some competent judges to a later period, and was possibly erected during the episcopate of Grandisson's successor, Bishop Brantyngham, (1369—1394).

are arranged in three rows. From pedestals, crowned with battlements, spring angels, each of whom supports a triple pilaster, with capitals. The statues on these capitals, forming the second row, are for the most part those of kings and knights; above the canopies which surmount them appears the third row, chiefly saints and apostles. The positions of the angels are admirably varied. It is difficult to identify with certainty the statues in the two upper rows; and the following list, which exists in MS. in the chapter-house, can only be accepted as possibly accurate. It will be seen that some of the figures are repeated.

In the lower row, beginning on the left hand at the north, are thirty figures:—

- |                             |                                    |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Canute.                  | 21. John.                          |
| 2. Edgar.                   | 22. Edward I.                      |
| 3. Ethelred.                | 23. Edward III.                    |
| 4. Justice. } Small figures | 24. The Black Prince. } over door. |
| 5. Fortitude. } above the   | (These two are busts. The          |
| 6. Discipline. } N. door.   | screen, if Grandisson's            |
| 7. Edward II.               | work, was erected dur-             |
| 8. Henry III.               | ing their life-time. See           |
| 9. }                        | Title-page.)                       |
| 10. } unknown bishops.      | 25. Godfrey de Bouillon.           |
| 11. Richard I.              | 26. Stephen, Count of Blois.       |
| 12. Henry II.               | (Remark the very rich ar-          |
| 13. Stephen.                | mour. This has also                |
| 14. Henry I.                | been considered the effigy         |
| 15. William I.              | of Wm. Lord Grandisson,            |
| 16. Robert of Normandy.     | father of the Bishop.)             |
| 17. William II.             | 27. Guy de Lusignan.               |
| 18. A king, unknown.        | 28. Ethelwold.                     |
| 19. }                       | 29. Alfred.                        |
| 20. } bishops.              | 30. Edward the Elder.              |

In the upper row (beginning at the north) are thirty-five figures.

- |                      |                            |                       |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Samuel.           | 19. St. John,              |                       |
| 2. Samson.           | 20. St. James the Greater. |                       |
| 3. Jephtha.          | 21. St. Thomas.            |                       |
| 4. Gideon.           | 22. St. James the Less.    |                       |
| 5. Barak.            | 23. St. Simon.             |                       |
| 6. Deborah.          | 24. St. Luke.              |                       |
| 7. Noah.             | 25. St. Mark.              |                       |
| 8. St. Matthew.      | 26. St. Augustin.          |                       |
| 9. St. John.         | 27. King Ethelbert.        |                       |
| 10. St. Jude.        | 28. St. Birinus.           |                       |
| 11. St. Bartholomew. | 29. St. Boniface.          |                       |
| 12. St. Matthias.    | 30. Kenigils.              | } Kings of<br>Wessex. |
| 13. St. Philip.      | 31. Cwichelm.              |                       |
| 14. St. Andrew.      | 32. Kenwalch.              |                       |
| 15. St. Peter.       | 33. Kentwald.              |                       |
| 16. King Richard II. | 34. Ceadwalla.             |                       |
| 17. King Athelstan.  | 35. Ina.                   |                       |
| 18. St. Paul.        |                            |                       |

The two statues with shields of arms in niches above the upper row are certainly those of Athelstan and Edward the Confessor, the Saxon king who "expelled the Britons" from Exeter, and the founder of the existing bishopric.

IX. In all these figures the general arrangement of the hair, as well as the fashion of the crowns and of the armour, are those of the reign of Edward III., in which the work was probably completed. The hawk on the wrist (Godfrey de Bouillon), the hand grasping the beard (William I. and II.), and the crossed legs (Edward I.), are attributes or actions frequently assigned to royal personages in ancient romances and

illuminations. The dog seen at the feet of one or two of the knights (Robert of Normandy) is, perhaps, meant to indicate fidelity. The figures of William the Conqueror and of St. James the Less are modern imitations, by Stevens, of the ancient statues, which crumbled to pieces, and at last fell from their niches. All, indeed, are now battered and time-worn; but the work may be compared advantageously with the series of English kings on the choir-screen of York Minster (*temp.* Hen. VI., nearly a century later). The earlier work at Wells and Lincoln is, perhaps, of higher and more ideal character; but this at Exeter is fully entitled to Mr. Cockerell's praise of it as "remarkable, characteristic, and beautiful sculpture."

The platform above the screen no doubt served, as in many foreign cathedrals, as a station from which the Church minstrels and choristers might duly welcome distinguished personages on their arrival; and from which the bishop might bestow his benediction on the people.

X. The three doorways are much enriched. Round that in the centre, within the porch, is a moulding of carved foliage which deserves notice. On the central boss of the groining is a representation of the Crucifixion. The recess within the south doorway contains two sculptures, "The Appearance of the Angel to Joseph in a dream," and "The Adoration of the Shepherds." Both, like the figures on the screen, have suffered not a little from time, and the assaults of Cromwell's Puritans. Between the south door and

that in the centre is the *Chantry of St. Radegunde*, constructed in the thickness of the screen by Bishop Grandisson for the place of his own sepulture. (See, however, Part III.) His tomb formerly existed here, but it was destroyed by Elizabeth's visitors, and the high-born prelate's ashes scattered, "no man knoweth where." On the roof of this chapel is a figure of the Saviour, in low relief, with the right hand raised in benediction. From the holes in the stone, lamps were formerly suspended. The effigy of the Bishop lay apparently beneath the low arch on the eastern side, formerly no doubt open to the nave. The mutilated sculpture of the altar reredos remains on the south side. St. Radegunde, to whom the chantry was dedicated, was the Queen of Chlotarius, eldest son of the Merovingian Clovis; for what reason she was selected as his patroness by Bishop Grandisson, is uncertain. A certain foreign character, which belongs to this chapel, and indeed to the whole western screen, was perhaps the result (if it be really Grandisson's work) of that Bishop's personal connection with the Continent, especially with the Papal Court at Avignon.

XI. We now enter the *nave*. As far as the transepts this is entirely the work of Grandisson, who carried out the plans of his predecessors (Bronescomb and Quivil) with the most unsparing liberality, and, to all appearance, with little or no alteration. It seems probable that the plan for the entire church was matured by Bishop Quivil; since, although it is certain that the nave was erected by Bishop Grandisson, there is no



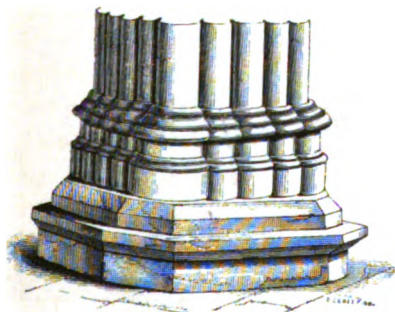
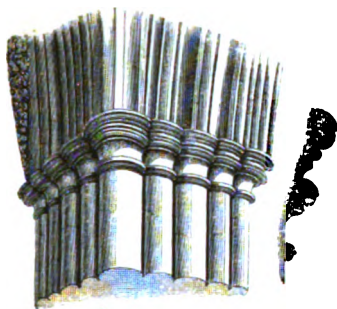


NAVE, FROM THE WEST.

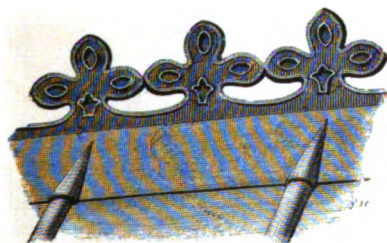
trace in it of that later (curvilinear) Decorated, which was the characteristic architecture of his time. He "enlarged," says Leland, "the west part of the church, making VII arches where afore the plot was made but of V." This probably means that he extended his nave somewhat farther westward than the site of the Norman cathedral; its present length is 140 feet. The view looking east is intercepted by the organ, which is placed above the screen at the entrance to the choir; but the general impression, notwithstanding an apparent want of height<sup>c</sup>, is that of great richness and beauty. [Plate II.] The roof especially, springing from slender vaulting-shafts, studded with delicately carved and varied bosses, and extending unbroken to the east end of the choir, is exceeded in grace and lightness by no other of the same date in the kingdom, and by few on the Continent. The carved *bosses*, all of which retain traces of colour, represent foliage, animals (near the centre of the nave is a sow with a litter of pigs), grotesque figures, heraldic shields, subjects from early "bestiaries" and romances, such as the centaur with a sword and the knight riding on a lion toward the eastern end, heads of the Virgin and Saviour, the Passion and Crucifixion, and in the centre of the second bay, the murder of Becket. Grandisson wrote a life of the great Archbishop, which remains in MS., but was very popular in its day. The episcopal figure on

<sup>c</sup> This impression is partly owing to the unbroken stretch of the roof. The actual height is seventy feet. The naves of Wells, Worcester, and Lichfield are all lower than that of Exeter.

the adjoining boss may either represent Becket, or Grandisson himself. Clustered pillars of Purbeck marble, contrasting well with the lighter stone (from Silverton and Bere) of which the walls and roof are constructed, separate the nave from the aisles, and divide it into seven compartments, or "bays." [Plate III.] The *corbels* between the arches, which support the vaulting-shafts of the roof, are, perhaps, peculiar to this cathedral, and should be especially noticed. They are wrought into figures, twisted branches, and long sprays of foliage, and afford excellent examples of the very best period of 'naturalism.' Every leaf is varied, and the character of the different kinds (here for the most part oak and vine) is admirably retained. [Plate V.] The second corbel on the south side of the nave exhibits the Virgin treading on an evil spirit, and carrying the Divine Infant. Above is her coronation. The easternmost nave-corbels display on the north side Moses, with his hands supported by Aaron and Hur [Plate V. fig. 1]; and on the south, the risen Saviour, with cross and banner. The brackets at the foot of these corbels are crowned heads; and possibly represent Edw. I. and II., the first beardless as usual, the other more defaced. The second corbel on the north side represents St. Cecilia, with a somewhat grotesque angel listening to her music. [Plate IV.] A blind arcade, taking the place of the triforium, deeply recessed, and arranged in groups of four arches under each bay, runs above the nave-arches; and in the central bay on the north side projects the *Minstrels' Gallery*, an arrangement for the accommodation

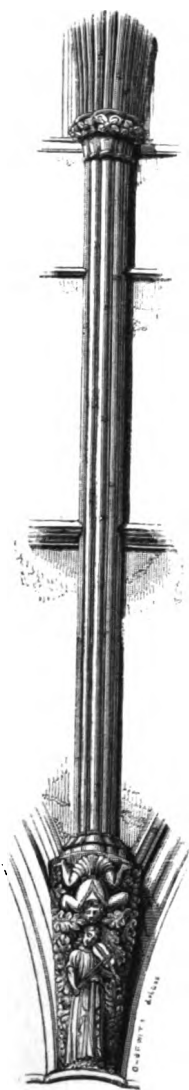


CAPITAL AND BASE OF PIERS IN THE NAVE.



LEADEN RIDGE-CREST OF NAVE.



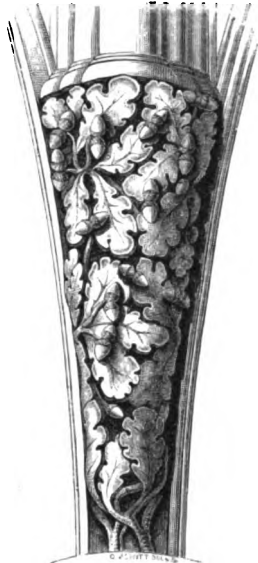


VAULTING-SHAFT AND CORBEL IN THE NAVE.





Nave.



Choir.

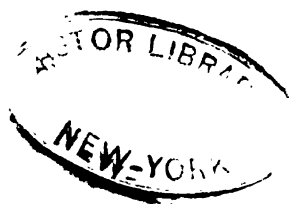


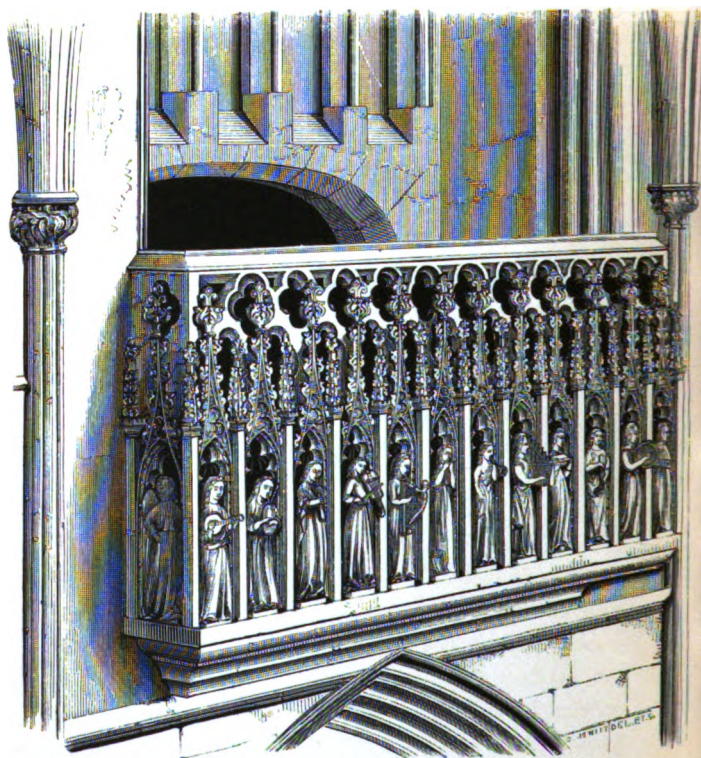
Choir.



Choir.

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MINSTRELS' GALLERY.

sicians on high festivals, which occurs in this  
tion nowhere else in England. [Plate VI.] There  
indeed, other examples at Wells and at Win-  
er, but of far less interest and importance. Each  
e twelve niches into which its front is divided  
ins the figure of a winged angel playing on a  
al instrument, and surmounted by a rich canopy.  
nstruments, beginning from the west, are,—a cit-  
bagpipes, flageolet, crowth or violin, harp, an un-  
n or unseen instrument, (the fingers are put close  
e mouth,) trumpet, organ, guitar, wind instru-  
tambour, and cymbals. The two corbelled heads  
, supporting niches, are possibly those of Ed-  
III. and Philippa. The manner in which the  
and arms are raised above the heads is unusual.  
e the arcade and minstrels' gallery is the clere-  
along which a gallery is pierced in the thick-  
of the wall.

I. The *windows* of the nave, all of the best and  
t (geometrical) Decorated, are said to exhibit a  
er variety of tracery than can be found in any  
building in the kingdom. (I. W. H.) They are  
ged in pairs, on opposite sides of the cathedral ;  
at no two, side by side, will be found to resemble  
other. The varied and graceful patterns of the  
work should also be noticed. The stained glass in  
reat west window is, for the most part, modern  
orthless, (it dates from 1766,) injuring the beauty  
window itself by its entire want of harmony and  
ng. The ruby glass in this window is said to be

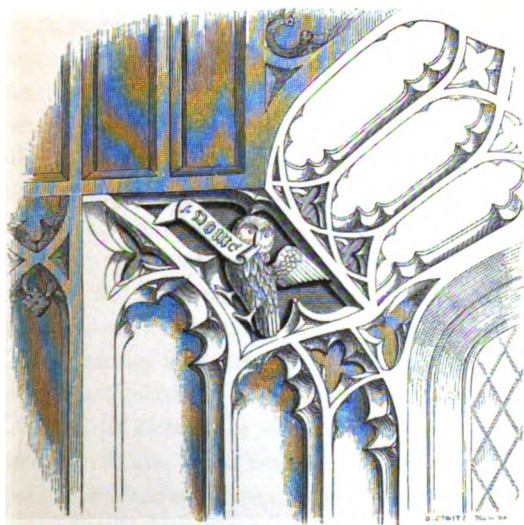
some of the latest that was manufactured in England before M. Bontemps revived the art.

XIII. Opening from the first bay of the nave on the north side, is the little *Chapel of St. Edmund*, of considerably earlier date than the nave itself, with which it was connected by Bishop Grandisson; it now serves as the Episcopal Consistory Court. In the fifth bay, on the same side, is the *north porch*, at present unused. The *font*, which stands on the south side of the nave, was presented by Archdeacon Bartholomew in 1842, and is nearly a copy of that in Beverley Minster (1534), of much later date and character than the architecture with which it is here associated. In the last bay of the nave on this side is a doorway of the Early English period, formerly opening to the cloisters, and which must have been preserved from the earlier nave by Bishop Grandisson. The massive buttresses on this side of the cathedral bear traces of their adaptation to the south walk of the cloisters. Against the east wall is an inscription in early characters, not altogether intelligible, but which seems intended to contrast the first and second Adam. Between the two first buttresses on the south side is a finely cut consecration cross. [Plate VII.] The present arrangements, by which the nave has been adapted for congregational worship, were made in the spring of 1859.

XIV. On the south side of the nave is the *high tomb*, with much mutilated effigies, of HUGH COURTENAY (died 1377), second Earl of Devon of the house of Courtenay, and of his Countess Margaret (died 1391), daughter of



CONSECRATION CROSS,  
On the north wall of the Nave, in the Cloisters.



REBUS IN BISHOP OLDHAM'S CHAPEL:  
OWL "Dom."

NEW-YORK

Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I. On the pavement beside this monument is the *brass*, still interesting, and once very fine, of their son, SIR PETER COURTENAY (died 1406), standard-bearer to Edward III., and distinguished in the French and Spanish wars under the Black Prince. These tombs were formerly inclosed within a chantry. The following inscription, only part of which remains, once surrounded the brass:—

“Devonie natus comes Petrusque vocatus  
Regis cognatus, Camerarius intitulatus,  
Calesie gratus, Capitaneus ense probatus  
Vita privatus fuit hinc super astra relatus.  
Et quia sublatus de mundo transit amatus  
Cœlo firmatus maneat sine fine beatus.”

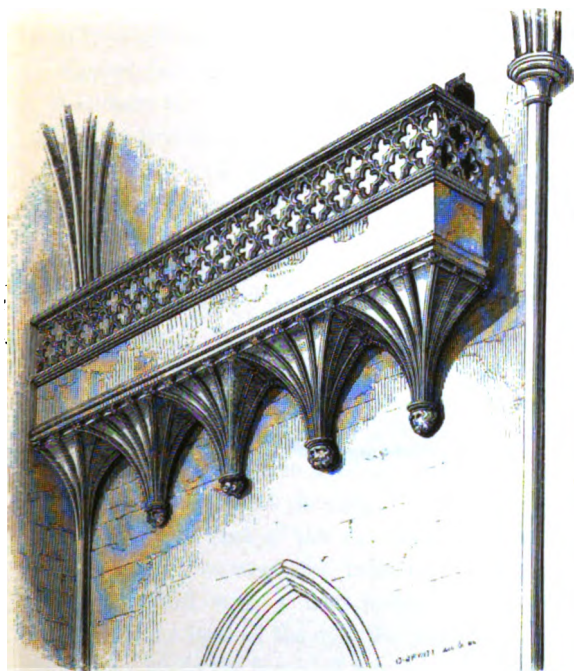
The very graceful canopy, and the octofoils at the angles of this brass, should be noticed.

Nearly opposite the Courtenay tomb was the chantry of Bishop Brantyngham (died 1394), which has entirely disappeared. Among the grave-slabs on the flooring of the nave is that of JOHN LOOSEMOORE, builder of the noble organ of the cathedral, who died in 1682. He is ranked by Dr. Burney (*Hist. of Music*) among the first organ-builders of his time.

XV. Passing into the *north transept*, the visitor should first remark the manner in which Bishop Quivil (1280—1291) formed the transepts out of the Norman towers of William Warelwast. “The inner side of each” (adjoining the nave) “was taken down to nearly half its height from the ground, and a vast substantial arch constructed to sustain the upper remaining part.”

These arches spring from a point level with the base of the clerestory windows, and are of great height and strength; the original Norman walls remain, of course, within. In the north transept, one of the Norman windows and two narrow circular-headed doorways still exist; but the squareness and narrowness of the transepts are the most evident indications from within, of their origin<sup>d</sup>. The passage through the clerestory is carried into both transepts, and leads into open galleries, which project east and west, and are supported on vaulting, the heads at the corbels of which should be noticed. [Plate VIII.] These galleries, as well as the great windows at the extremities of the transepts, are generally assigned to Bishop Quivil, as well as the *Chapels of St. Paul* and of *St. John the Baptist*, which open east of the two transepts. The side-windows in both should be observed. The screen which divides these chapels from the transepts is, however, later, and perhaps of the same period as the choir-screen. On the floor of St. Paul's Chapel (north transept), now used as the lay vicar's vestry, are a few good tiles. Adjoining it is the chantry of WILLIAM SYLKE, sub-chanter, who founded it in 1485, and was buried in it in 1508. In front lies his effigy, an emaciated figure in a shroud; and the inscription above runs, "Sum quod eris, fueram quod es, pro me, precor, ora." On the wall at the

<sup>d</sup> Whether, in the original Norman plan, these were the western towers, or (as is most probable) transeptal towers as at present, and as in the neighbouring church of Ottery St. Mary, is uncertain. See Part III., Note B.



GALLERY IN THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

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back of this chantry is a mural painting of the same date, which has recently been discovered. The subject is the Resurrection, with soldiers in armour in the foreground, whilst the three Maries are seen approaching behind; the figure of the Saviour has a certain dignity which deserves notice.

Against the east wall is a memorial for the officers and soldiers of the 20th, or East Devon regiment, who fell in the Crimea.

XVI. The *clock*, which occupies the north side of the transept, is celebrated. It is certain that a clock existed "in boreali turre" of the cathedral in the year 1317; which was probably the same which yet remains. "It has two dials, and its construction is referred to the reign of Edward III.,"—it is probably older,—“when the science of astronomy was in its nonage, and the earth regarded as the central point of the universe. The upper disc, which was added in 1760, shews the minutes. The lower disc is divided into three parts; the figure of the earth forming the nucleus of the innermost circle, that of the sun traversing the outer space, that of the moon the intermediate one. The sun is stamped with a fleur-de-lys, the upper end pointing to the hour of the day, the lower to the age of the moon; while the figure of the moon is made black on one side, and moved by the clock-work, so as to imitate the varying aspect of its inconstant original.” It need hardly be said that very little of the ancient works remain. The last restoration and re-gilding took place about four years since (1859). There is a very similar

clock in the church of Ottery St. Mary. A door below the clock leads upward to the tower, in which is hung the *Great*, or *Peter bell*, brought from Llandaff by BISHOP COURTENAY (1478—1486), and, (since the fracture of the great bell in the New Palace of Westminster which weighed upwards of 30,000 lbs.), the second largest bell in England; it weighs 12,500 lbs. The bell which exceeds it in weight is Great Tom at Christ Church, Oxford, 17,000 lbs. The "Peter" bell was "crazed" on Nov. 5, 1611, "most probably," says Mr. Hewett, "from a too violent ringing in commemoration of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot," and was recast in 1676. Its diameter at the mouth is 6 feet 3 inches; its height nearly 4 feet 8 inches. It is of course never rung, but the hours are struck on it by an enormous hammer. The visitor who happens to be in the tower at the time of striking will experience a new sensation,—the humming of the great mass of metal lingers for many minutes among the huge beams and rafters. A superb view of the city, surrounded by trees and gardens, of the river, and of its junction with the sea at Exmouth, is obtained from the top of the tower, the upper part of which (of Perpendicular character) was raised and adapted by Bishop Courtenay for the reception of Great Peter.

XVII. The *south transept* precisely resembles the north; and the *Chapel of St. John the Baptist*, which opens from it east, is of the same time and character as that of St. Paul in the opposite transept. In the south-east angle of the transept is a tomb said to be that of

JOHN THE CHAUNTER (1185—1191), but apparently of later date. The monument of "debased" against the east wall, was erected in 1568, at the behest of Hoker, the historian of Exeter, for Leofric, Bishop of the see. He does not, however, "lie here," as the inscription asserts, but was buried somewhere in the crypt of the Saxon church. Sir Peter Carew, for whom there is a mural monument against the south wall, was a younger brother of George Carew, Earl of Exeter. In the south tower are eleven bells, ten of which are rung in peal, the heaviest in England.

III. A door, opening from the south-west angle of the transept, leads to the *Chapel of the Holy Ghost*, a low, semi-cylindrically vaulted building, nowendisused. It appears on a seal of the Chapter, of 1337, and is certainly of early date. In it is the font which formerly stood in the nave, a marble basin of classical design. It was first used at the baptism of Princess Henrietta, daughter of Charles I.<sup>e</sup>, who was born at Bedford-house, in Exeter, in 1644.

IV. Beyond this chapel is the *Chapter-house*, opening from what is still called the cloisters, although the cloisters themselves were entirely demolished during the Protectorate. The lower part of the chapter-house is surrounded by a fine arcade of Early English character, dating early in the thirteenth century, probably of the episcopate of Bishop Brewer, (1224—1244).

V. The unfortunate Duchess of Orleans, through whom the claim of Modena and others deduce their claim to the English

The upper part, with its Perpendicular niches, was the work of Bishop Lacey, (1420—1455). The east window is attributed to Bishop Neville, (1458—1465); and the ceiling, richly painted and gilt, is said to have been given by Bishop Bothe, (1465—1478). The chapter library, a collection of about 8,000 volumes, is preserved here. The most valuable MSS., however, belonging to the cathedral, are kept apart in a room above St. Andrew's Chapel. On one of the cases in the chapter-house is placed an alabaster model of the tomb of Bishop Carey in the church of Sta. Croce at Florence, where he died in 1419. On another case are the chalice, paten, and sapphire ring found in the tomb of Bishop Bytton, before the high altar.

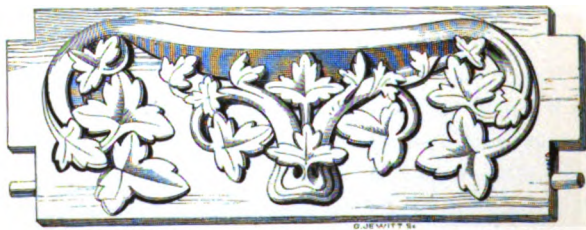
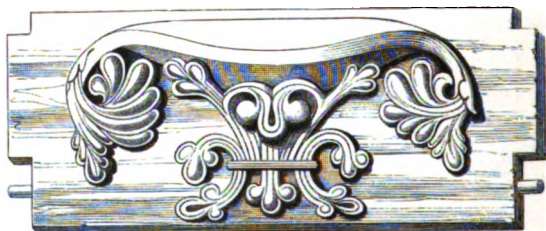
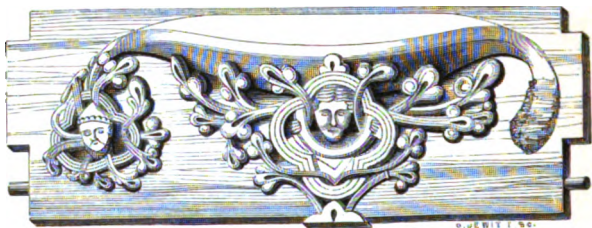
XX. The beautiful *choir-screen*, now supporting the organ, was possibly the work of Bishop Brantyngham (1370 — 1394). Its three broad ogee arches rest on shafts of Purbeck marble. The spandrils are filled with graceful foliage; but the rose and thistle, which are now most conspicuous, were barbarously introduced in the reign of James I. The thirteen small arches above are filled with paintings on stone of Scripture subjects, generally said to be of the fourteenth century, and co-eval with the screen. They are probably, however, of the same date as the rose and thistle below, and at any rate, are quite worthless and uninteresting; the parapet above is modern. The *organ*, built by Loosemore in 1665, and rebuilt by Lincoln in 1819, is among the finest in England, and is said to be the most ancient in actual use. "It consists of three parts: the great

organ, including the swell, the choir organ, and the double set of lateral pipes affixed on each side at the junction of the choir and transepts." The metal of the pipes is said to be of singularly fine quality. Loosemore's organ was especially praised by Roger North, who visited Exeter with the Lord Keeper Guildford; and its most solemn tones were called forth on the occasion of the reception of the Prince of Orange in 1688. (See Part II., BISHOP LAMPLUGH.)

XXI. The four eastward bays of the *Choir* were the work of Bishop Stapledon, (1308—1326). His successor, Bishop Grandisson, (1327—1369), at once carried on the work, and dedicated the high altar, Dec. 18, 1328. In writing to his patron, Pope John XXII., at Avignon, he asserts that the cathedral, then half completed, would, when finished, be superior in its kind to any church in France or England: "*Ecclesia Exoniensis, fere ad medium constructa, mirabili super ceteras in genere suo Regni Anglie vel Francie, si perficiatur, pulchritudine renitebit.*"—(*Grandisson's Register*, vol. i. fol. 39.) High as this praise was, the beauty of the vaulted roof and the extreme grace of the details are proofs that it was scarcely exaggerated. The roof-bosses and corbels [Plate V. figs. 2, 3, 4] are of the same character as those in the nave; but the latter are even more admirable in design, and far more varied in foliage. Maple, oak, ash, the filbert with its clusters of nuts, and the vine with fruit and tendrils, could hardly be reproduced more faithfully. On the corbel above the organ-screen, on the north side, is a coronation of the Virgin,

and on that beyond it a Virgin and Child with censing angels. Bishop Stapledon's four eastward bays differ from Grandisson's only in the arcade above the arches which is not so deeply recessed. The original altar-screen, with the silver altar, also part of Stapledon's work, have long been removed. The present *reredos* was designed by Kendall in 1818, and is unusually good for that time. The *sedilia*, with their very rich and fine canopies, were erected by Bishop Stapledon. Lions' heads terminate the pendants of the arches, and the pilasters dividing the seats rest on the backs of lions. The *east window* is early Perpendicular, and was inserted by Bishop Brantyngham about 1390. The stained glass with which it is filled is for the most part ancient, and very fine. Much of it dates apparently from the first half of the fourteenth century, (*temp.* Edw. I. and II.,) and was removed from the earlier window; the shields below are those of early bishops and benefactors; the figures of saints above, most of which are to be recognised by their emblems, deserve careful notice. Beginning with the *lowest row*, and at the left hand, are,—St. Margaret, St. Catherine, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Barbara, the Virgin and Child, St. Martin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew. All these figures are under very rich and varied canopies. The first three and the last three are of the first period; the others of Brantyngham's time. In the *middle row* are,—St. Sidwell, or Sativola, believed to have been a British lady of noble birth, and contemporary with St. Winfred of Crediton, (first half of the eighth century). Her legend asserts that she





MISERERES IN THE CHOIR.





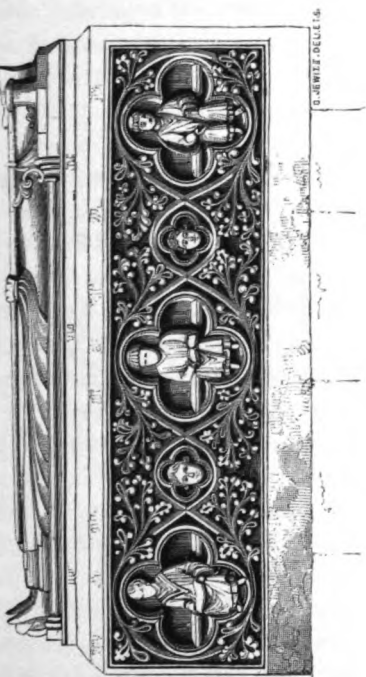
MISERERES IN THE CHOIR.

ded by a mower, at the instigation of her  
c, who coveted her possessions, near a well  
walls of Exeter. This well, long known as  
's well, had over it a very ancient "castellum  
which was destroyed by the railway works in  
the window St. Sativola appears with a  
her left hand, whilst at her right is a well  
beam of water flowing from it. These emblems  
r form a rebus of her name (scythe-well) or  
er martyrdom. Her tomb was shewn in St.  
Church. Beyond St. Sidwell are,—St. Helena,  
el, St. Margaret, St. Catherine, Edward the  
and St. Edmund. All the figures in this  
of Brantyngham's period. The three figures  
permost row are Abraham, Moses, and Isaiah.  
e of the first period. The tone of colour  
at this window is very fine and solemn. The  
in the upper part of the window is modern.  
rth clerestory windows of the central bay are  
less figures, of early Decorated character. The  
running pattern forming the ground on which  
placed should be noticed. The length of the  
31 feet.

Of the *wood-work* in the choir the visitor  
pecially remark the *misereres*, [Plates IX. and  
which have been cut down to fit their present  
dating from the beginning of the thirteenth  
they are, perhaps, of Bishop Marshall's time,  
206,) and probably the earliest in the kingdom.  
fifty in number, and their subjects are of the

usual character,—foliage, grotesques, animals, (among which is an elephant,) and knights in combat, whose heater shields, flat helmets, and early armour are especially noticeable. Remark, on the *south* side of the choir a mermaid and merman holding some circular instrument between them, the elephant mentioned above, and a knight sitting in a boat drawn by a swan, an illustration of the romance of the *Chevalier au Cygne*. On the *north* side, a knight attacking a leopard, a monster on whose back is a saddle with stirrups, a minstrel with tabor and pipe, a knight thrusting his sword into a grotesque bird, and a mermaid holding a fish. The Early English character of the foliage, as well as its graceful arrangement, should be noticed throughout. The *episcopal throne* on the south side, put together without a single nail, and towering almost to the roof, was the gift of BISHOP BOTHE, (1465—1478,) and is an excellent specimen of that period. The lightness of its ascending stages almost rivals the famous “sheaf fountains” of the Nuremberg tabernacle. It is said to have been taken down and concealed during the Rebellion. The date of the *pulpit* is 1684.

XXIII. On the *south* side of the choir is a monument attributed to BISHOP CHICHESTER, (1138—1155,) a plain slab, once containing a brass. If it really commemorates this bishop, it must of course be of much later date. Further west is the plain tomb of BISHOP WOLTON (1579—1594). On the *north* side are the tombs of BISHOP MARSHALL, [Plate XI.], died 1206; the tomb (half hidden by the choir-screen) on which his effigy



TOMB OF BISHOP MARSHALL



[Plate XII.] lies is carved at the sides with figures in medallions; it should be compared with those of Bishops Bartholomæus and Simon of Apulia, in the Lady-chapel: the ornament about the neck of the cope (certainly *not* the apparel) occurring in this effigy, and in that of Bishop Simon de Apulia, is very peculiar and unusual; in character it resembles Early English foliage:—BISHOP LACEY, died 1455, a plain slab, to which “great pilgrimages were made by the common people,” since the Bishop died in the odour of sanctity, and many miracles were said to have been done at his tomb: a local tradition asserted that he died in an attempt to abstain altogether from food during the forty days of Lent; and an emaciated figure in the north choir aisle was pointed out as his:—BISHOP BRADBRIDGE, died 1578: and BISHOP WALTER DE STAPLEDON, murdered in 1326, a fine figure, holding a crozier with the left hand and clasping a book with the right. On his sleeve are two keys addorsed—the arms of the see as borne by him. His feet rest on foliage, between which is a shield, once no doubt charged with his bearings. The canopy, of Perpendicular character, was apparently restored at the same time as the choir-screen,—early in the present century. Under it, and not visible except from within, is a large figure of the Saviour; the head surrounded by an aureole, the hands, in which are the marks of the nails, raised in benediction, and the feet, similarly marked, resting on an orb. At the side, and as if climbing upward toward the Saviour, is a small figure of a king, crowned and wearing a

scarlet robe. The hair is arranged as in the effigy of Edward II.

The arms of Bishop Marshall, of Bishop Lacey, and of Bishop Stapledon appear on the choir-screen above their respective monuments. The screen itself dates apparently from Bishop Brantyngham's time, (1390).

XXIV. We now enter the *north choir-aisle*, portion of which, as of that on the south side, have been attributed to Bishop Bronescomb, (1257—1280). The walls alone, however, can be of this time. The windows and vaulting were unquestionably, like the choir part of Grandisson's work. As in the nave, the windows correspond with those in the opposite aisle. *St. Andrew's Chapel*, which opens from this aisle, and is now used as the canons' vestry, is of very early Decorated character, and is more probably the work of Bronescomb; it precisely resembles the opposite chapel of St. James. Both have chambers above them, which seem to have been divided from the chapels below at a later period. The entire projections "may have been intended by Bishop Bronescomb as transepts for the Norman Cathedral, before the plan of the new edifice was conceived. . . . The vaulting and windows of the chambers above these chapels are of the very earliest Middle Pointed (Decorated) character, while the corbels which support the vaulting seem by their size to intimate that they were to be viewed from beneath."—*J. W. Hewett*. (See, however, Part III. Note B.)

XXV. In the chamber above St. Andrew's Chapel are preserved the archives of the see, commencing

time of Bishop Bronescomb's accession in the Henry III., the Fabric Rolls, the original MS. Exon Domesday," relating to the counties of Devon and Cornwall, the volume of Saxon poetry bequeathed to the cathedral by Leofric, first Bishop of Exeter (see Part II., BP. LEOFRIC,) so well known to Exon scholars as the *Codex Exoniensis*, and the *Summa* by Roger Bacon. The *Liber Pontificalis* of Lacey, and the Order of the Services in the cathedral, compiled by Bishop Grandisson, are also here. These venerable MSS. can only be seen by application to the Registrar of the cathedral.

The monuments to be noticed in the north aisle are:—BISHOP CAREY, died 1626, with effigy; buried, however, according to Fuller, "Worshipful St. Paul's Cathedral, London): a mural tablet of ROBERT HALL, died 1667, eldest son of Bishop Hall, "hujus ecclesiæ vivus, Thesaurarius; Thesaurus:" a small but pleasing tablet to ROBERT PENROSE, died 1856: an emaciated figure in a niche of very late character, called Bishop Lacey's, see *ante*): the early tomb of Anthony Harvey, (1564): and a figure, with cross-legged effigy, of a knight whose effigy is of the early part of the fourteenth century; the figure stands at the head of the recumbent figure, and holds a horse at the feet; both are now

This is no doubt a memorial of SIR RICHARD BARNARD, who died after the year 1330, an elder brother of Bishop Walter, generally, but erroneously,

said to have been murdered with him in London. One side of Bishop Marshall's tomb, displaying three sitting figures in medallions, may also be examined from this aisle.

XXVII. The *Chantry of St. George*, opening at the end of this aisle, south, was founded about 1518 by Sir John Speke, of White Lackington in Somersetshire, whose effigy lies within it. The entire chantry is a mass of rich carving. It has, however, been materially injured by the opening of a doorway, from which a passage leads into the Close.

XXVIII. At the extreme east end of the aisle is the *Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene*, the work, most probably, of Bishop Bronescomb, died 1280. The east window, like that of the corresponding chapel of St. Gabriel, contains some good stained glass, part of which dates from the first half of the fifteenth century, and is fine. A beautiful arcade below the windows is much hidden by high monuments. The screens dividing these chapels from the aisles are of Perpendicular character. In St. Mary Magdalene's chapel is a striking Elizabethan monument for Sir Gawain Carew, his wife, and their nephew Sir Peter Carew, erected in 1589, and restored in 1857 by existing representatives of the family. The whole has been gilt and coloured, and with very good effect. The monument is in two stages. On the upper rest the effigies of Sir Gawain and his wife; on the lower is that of Sir Peter, cross-legged, a very unusual example of so late a period. Both Sir Gawain and Sir Peter Carew were active in sup-

the Devonshire rebellion in the reign of Edward. The other monuments to be remarked here are a surprising memorial, without date, for Elizabeth of John Barrett; in front is a sarcophagus with drapery; above and below are creatures of human nature, disporting themselves among feathered birds,—and a tablet, with musical instruments, for Henry Godwin, Mus. Bac., died 1586. On the wall is a small but good *brass*, for Canon Langton, died 1383: a relative of Bishop Stafford, whose tomb is in the choir and possibly of the same family as Stephen Langton, the great Archbishop, who was a native of Hereford. The cope is bordered with XP and the Staff of Life.

C. A staircase in the north-east corner of this aisle leads upward to the roofs of the north choir-aisle and the ambulatory. From the first, a very remarkable view is obtained between the flying buttresses, as seen from the north transept. The long perspective is singularly beautiful, and should not be missed by the visitor. From the clerestory windows he may look down into the nave, or enter and walk along the gallery. The top of the ambulatory commands the great east window of the choir, one of the lower divisions of which is open, so as to afford a view of the interior of the choir, which from this point is very fine; the view, especially, is nowhere better seen.

D. The low *eastern aisle*, which passes between the piers of the choir and the Lady-chapel, was introduced, as in other cathedrals, for the circulation of pro-

cessions, and should be compared with the eastern aisles, *viæ processionum*, 'procession paths,' or 'ambulatories,' as they were sometimes called, at Hereford, Salisbury, Chichester, St. Alban's, Wells, and Winchester, (*Willis*). Hereford is the earliest of these examples, in all of which this eastern portion is much lower than the choir. "In most of our larger churches, however, eastern additions are raised as high in the centre as the choir itself, as at Canterbury, Rochester, and Ely." The Exeter ambulatory is early Decorated, and perhaps Bishop Bronescomb's work, like the chapels which open from it. The vaulting and bosses resemble those of the side-aisles. Two arches opened at the back of the choir, a beautiful arrangement, the effect of which is now destroyed by the heavy wall of the reredos.

XXXI. The *Lady-chapel*, at present used for early morning service, has been considered of two dates: the lower part has been assigned to Bishop Bronescomb, died 1280; the upper, and vaulting, to his successor, Bishop Quivil, died 1291. It would, however, be not a little difficult to distinguish the works of the two prelates, if such a distinction really exists. Above the arch of entrance, and only seen from within the chapel, is a peculiar fan-light. The windows, very good and striking, oppose each other, as in the nave. The vaulting-shafts are of Purbeck marble, still partly covered with whitewash. The bosses in the easternmost bay of the roof exhibit the head of the Saviour, with the emblems of the four Evangelists. The carved foliage throughout is very good. The piscina and sedilia on

EW-YORK.

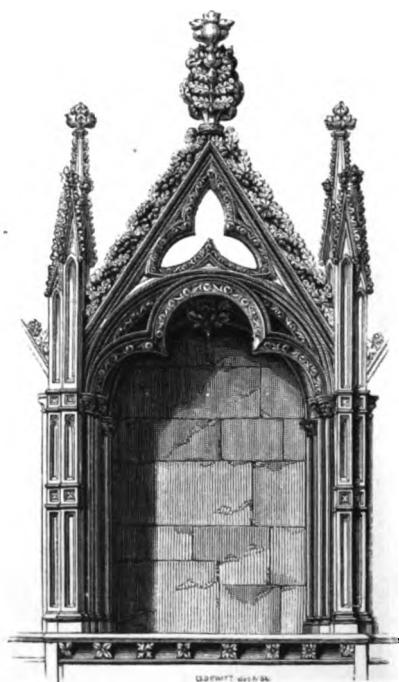


Bishop Bartholomew,  
Died 1184.



Bishop Marshall,  
Died 1206.





CENTRAL NICHE OF THE REREDOS, LADY CHAPEL.





Bishop Simon de Apulia,

Died 1223.



Bishop Edmund Stafford

Died 1419.

EFFIGIES.

the south side should be noticed. The reredos under the east window was restored by Mr. Kendall early in the century, only the central compartment [Plate XIII.] (with a recess, serving as a tabernacle or relic shrine,) being ancient. This compartment is of Grandisson's period. The westernmost bays of the chapel open to the side chantries with very good effect.

XXXII. In the centre of the pavement is the tombstone of Bishop PETER QUIVIL, died 1291,—a slab with foliated cross, and the inscription, “Petra tegit Petrum, nihil officiat sibi tetrum.” The visitor should regard this slab with no little interest, if he believe, as is most probable, that Bishop Quivil was the author of the plan of the Cathedral as it now appears. Placed in the recesses of the arcade on the *south* side are the effigies of Bishop BARTHOLOMÆUS ISCANUS [Plate XII.], died 1184,—in low relief; the face is bearded, and has what seem to be twisted or plaited mustachios: the mitre is high-peaked, like a Norman helmet: a winged monster at the feet is impaled with the episcopal staff: the figure rests under a pointed arch, at the angles of which are censuring angels: the stone is Purbeck;—and of Bishop SIMON OF APULIA [Plate XIV.], died 1223. The design generally resembles that of the effigy of Bishop Bartholomæus, but is of far more advanced and artistic character. The whole of Bishop Simon's vestments are most richly jewelled. The dragon's head and the foliage, still conventional, at the feet, should be noticed. It was not until a century later that the ‘naturalism’ of the nave and choir corbels was practicable. These two monu-

ments, and that of Bishop Marshall, died 1206, in the choir, afford a very interesting series, in which the gradual progress of art may be distinctly traced. The wall above Bishop Simon's monument has been richly painted, and the figure of a bishop is still visible.

XXXIII. In corresponding recesses on the north side of the chapel are the effigies of Sir John and Lady Doddridge. SIR JOHN, died 1628, one of James I.'s Judges of the King's Bench, was commonly called, says Fuller, "the sleepy Judge, because he would sit on the bench with his eyes shut, to sequester his sight from distracting objects." LADY DODDRIDGE, whose very rich dress is brocaded with roses and carnations, is equally remarkable for her ruff, her wig, and her head-gear.

XXXIV. Under the arches which open from the Lady-chapel to the side chantries, are the tombs, with effigies, of Bishop Bronescomb and Bishop Stafford. That of BISHOP BRONESCOMB, died 1280, on the south side was originally placed, it is probable, within the adjoining chantry of St. Gabriel, which he had founded, and in which he was interred. The effigy is of his own time. The canopy under which it now rests is of Perpendicular character, and may have been raised, and the effigy placed beneath it at the same time (1419), as Bishop Stafford's monument opposite was erected. Bishop Bronescomb's effigy should be compared with the earlier monuments above it. The artist was not common one. The turning lion especially, on which the Bishop treads, is finely given. The grotesque angels at the feet, holding shields, are of the same

date as the canopy, and, like that, contrast very disadvantageously with the simpler and more impressive work with which they are associated. The Bishop's effigy has been covered with elaborate patterns in colour, which can still be traced, and deserve notice. They are perhaps of the same date as the canopy, and as the paintings of saints in the panels of the screen-work which connects the tombs with the arches. The effigy of BISHOP STAFFORD, died 1419, on the *north* side, which has been disgracefully used, is in alabaster, and very fine in all its details. The tabernacle-work above the head, especially rich and beautiful as it is, seems of a different date from the effigy. The canopy is of the same character as that above the opposite tomb, and, like that, has figures of angels carrying musical instruments most ungracefully arranged in the frieze.

On each side of the entrance to the Lady-chapel are two blank arches, with carved corbels full of character, and indicating small love for the "freres" on the part of the designers; they are early Decorated.

XXXV. *St. Gabriel's Chapel*, Bishop Bronescomb's work, like that of St. Mary Magdalene, on the north side of the Lady-chapel, is of precisely similar character. The patron saint of Bishop Bronescomb was St. Gabriel the Archangel; whose feast, by this Bishop's direction, was celebrated in his cathedral with the same solemnities as Christmas and Easter. The east window, which contains some early stained glass, is partly blocked by a monument by FLAXMAN to Major General Simcoe, who died in 1806, having greatly dis-

tinguished himself at the head of the Queen's Rangers during the whole of the American war. In the centre is a medallion of the General, and on either side are full-length figures of a British soldier resting on his bayonet, and an American Indian with a tomahawk. This latter figure should especially be noticed. In this chapel also is the almost living statue of Northcote the painter, a native of Devonshire, by CHANTREY. The artist is seated, with the head slightly bent forward; the marble literally seems to speak. "Wilkie was an historical painter, Chantrey an historical sculptor, because they painted or carved the veritable things they saw, not men and things as they believed they might have been, or should have been." — *Ruskin*. After dwelling on this admirable figure, the visitor will hardly care to inspect the Elizabethan high tomb of Sir John and Lady Gilbert, or the monument with its three busts for the Rev. John Fursman (1727), his wife, and daughter.

XXXVI. Adjoining St. Gabriel's Chapel, south, is BISHOP OLDHAM's chantry, (died 1519,) dedicated to our Saviour. It is of the same character, although the details vary, as the Speke chantry in the opposite aisle. Walls and roof are covered with carving. Under the east window are a series of sculptures, terribly shattered, representing the Annunciation, the Resurrection, and the Nativity. The Bishop's effigy, once richly coloured, lies in a niche in the south wall. The owls in the lower panels, surrounding the chapel, refer to his name — "Old (owld) ham," [Plate VII.]; and in the north-

east corner is an owl with a label issuing from its mouth, on which are the letters *dom*, forming the complete rebus.

XXXVII. In the *south choir-aisle*, which resembles the north, are the effigies of two cross-legged knights, both *temp.* Edward I. They have been assigned (but without certainty) to Sir Humphrey de Bohun, father of Margaret, Countess of Devon, whose effigy is in the nave; and to a knight of the Chichester family. The other monuments worth notice in this aisle are,—BISHOP COTTON, died 1621, with full-length effigy; and BISHOP WESTON, died 1741,—a sarcophagus on which sits an angel.

XXXVIII. A door in the upper part of this aisle (the work of Bishop Oldham, whose arms occur in the spandrels,) leads to the episcopal palace. Opening from the centre of the aisle is the *Chapel of St. James*, like that of St. Andrew, very early Decorated, and used as a vestry by the minor canons. Against its south wall is a monument of Decorated character, said to have been raised in memory of Leofric, first Bishop of Exeter. The design is unusual, and of great beauty.

XXXIX. Returning to the *exterior* of the cathedral, the visitor should especially remark the Norman towers, the cresting of the roof, the flying buttresses, and the north porch. The *Norman towers*, in connection with the long unbroken roof, should perhaps be regarded as constituting the *specialty* of Exeter. At all events, the peculiarity of their present position is so great, and so striking, as at once to attract attention; and the question of their place in the original Norman church (see

Part III. Note B) is one of very considerable interest. Each tower consists of six stages, the two lowest of which are plain: the other four have blind arcades and circular window openings, the details and arrangement of which vary in the two towers. At the angles are square buttresses, which rise above the uppermost story. The south tower is Norman throughout; that on the north was altered by Bishop Courtenay for the reception of the great bell from Llandaff, and its final stage is perpendicular. The *fleur-de-lis* cresting of the roof is of lead, (with which the whole of the roof is covered,) and its form is very graceful and effective. [Plate III.] The *flying buttresses* derive a very grand effect from the fact that the aisle-roofs slope outwards, and not, as usual, inwards. Resulting also from this peculiarity are, the great height of the aisles on the exterior, and an unusual development of the clerestory, without any intervening space between it and the aisle-roofs; and, within the nave, the absence of the triforium; the place of which is, however, indicated by the blind arcade above the piers. The *north porch*, with its triple canopy, is part of Grandisson's work, and very beautiful.

XL. The *Episcopal Palace*, on the south side of the choir, between that and the chapter-house, contains little of interest beyond an Early English arch of very early character, and a chimneypiece in the hall erected by Bishop Courtenay, c. 1486. In the *Deanery*, on the south-west, Charles II., William III., and George III. lodged during their respective visits to Exeter.

# EXETER CATHEDRAL.

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## PART II.

### *History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.*

**B**EFORE the commencement of the eighth century, those portions of Devonshire which had been colonized by the advancing Saxons were subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishops of Wessex, the place of whose see was Winchester. Their diocese remained co-extensive with the kingdom of Wessex, whose boundaries were constantly enlarging, until the year 704, when it was subdivided, and Devonshire passed under the control of the bishops of Sherborne.

In the course of the eighth and ninth centuries the Saxons extended their settlements over the whole of Devonshire; and it became necessary to provide more directly for the ecclesiastical administration of the province. Hoker of Exeter, who has been followed by Godwin and Camden, asserts that the see was first established at Bishops Tawton, in the year 905; that Werstan and Putta were the first two bishops; that the latter, about 912, "taking his journey towards Crediton to see and visit the king, (or, as some say, Uffa, the king's lieutenant,) was by the said Uffa's men slain;" and that, upon his death, the see was removed to Crediton. For this statement no ancient authority exists at present. In what year the Crediton bishopric was founded is uncertain; but the name assigned by Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester to its first bishop, Eadul-

phus, is confirmed by its occurrence in a Saxon Charter of the year 933<sup>a</sup>.

[*Circa* A. D. 910.] The selection of Crediton as the seat of the Devonshire bishopric may have been partly due to the reverence with which it was regarded as the birthplace (about 680) of the Saxon Winfred, better known as St. Boniface, who, as Archbishop of Mayence, and as founder of the great monastery of Fulda, is regarded as the chief apostle of Christianity throughout central Germany. Crediton stands, however, in the midst of meadows, which must always have been rich and productive at a time when the greater part of the country was still unreclaimed; and the ancient camps remaining in its neighbourhood overhang the line of a probably British road, which connected the valley with the Ikenild way at Exeter, on the one hand, and with the northern coast on the other. The situation was thus not inconvenient for the Saxon bishops, who, unlike those of France and Germany, rarely made their residences in walled towns, but, imitating the Saxon kings, “adopted for the most part the old Teutonic habit of wandering from vill to vill, from manor to manor. In this country the positions of cathedrals were as little confined to principal cities as were the positions of palaces<sup>b</sup>.” Thus it is asserted that Eadulf, the first bishop of Crediton, received from the king three villis in Cornwall, in order “that

<sup>a</sup> The sole authority for fixing the earliest see at Bishop’s Tawton is Hoker, (*Catal. of the Bps. of Excester*, by John Vowell, alias Hoker, Gent., 1584). Hoker may possibly have had some chronicle or charter before him, which does not exist at present. The year 905 is generally asserted to have been that in which the Devonshire bishopric was founded, together with those for Wilts and Somerset; and Archbishop Plegmund is said to have consecrated the bishops for these sees, besides four others, on the same day. The passage in the *Gesta Regum* of Malmesbury, however, (l. ii. c. 5.) on which this statement is founded, has been shewn to be full of anachronisms, and is consequently of but slight authority.

<sup>b</sup> Kemble, *Sax. in England*, i. p. 300. See also ch. viii. p. 395.

he might from thence visit the Cornish race to extirpate their errors." A distinct see was, however, created for Cornwall after the effectual reduction of the province by Athelstan, (925—940). The names of ten Cornish, and of ten bishops of Crediton, have been preserved, the last two in either case being those of Living and Leofric, under the first of whom the two sees were united, and transferred, under the latter, to Exeter.

[A.D. 1035—1047.] Of the Cornish bishops, whose episcopal seat seems to have been first at St. Germans and afterwards indifferently at that place and at St. Petrockstowe, or Bodmin, nothing more than the names has been recorded<sup>c</sup>; nor has it fared very differently with the first eight bishops of Crediton, (from c. 920 to c. 1035). LIVING, or LIVINGUS, the ninth bishop (1035—1047), was a person of considerable distinction and importance. At first a monk of Winchester, he became successively abbot of Tavistock and bishop of Crediton; and, as his friend and chief counsellor, frequently accompanied Canute on his continental journeys. He was for some time absent with the King in Denmark, and accompanied him on his pilgrimage to Rome, whence the Bishop returned alone to England in order to prepare the way for the favourable reception of Canute. Besides the bishopric of Crediton, he held those of Worcester and Cornwall, the latter of which he received on the death of his uncle, Bishop Buruhwold, (c. 1042). The Saxon Chronicle styles Living the *Words-notera*, 'Word-wise,' or eloquent bishop; and the ingenious letter which he addressed to the nobles of England on his return from Rome may still be read in the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester. His triple bishopric was no doubt the reward of his services to the Danish king, in whose behalf he probably exercised something more than word-wisdom. Malmesbury describes

<sup>c</sup> See for all that is accurately known respecting them and the place of their see, Pedler's "Anglo-Saxon Episcopate of Cornwall," Lond., 1856.

him as ambitious and tyrannical, and he is said, after the death of Canute, to have been concerned in the cruel seizure, at Guildford (1040), of the Atheling Alfred, son of Ethelred the Unready. In accordance with an ancient belief, which asserted that the deaths of great men were accompanied with great storms and portents, a tremendous thunder-clap (? *horrisonus crepitus*) was, says Malmesbury, heard throughout England at the moment of the death of Livingus, "insomuch that all men thought the end of the world was at hand." He was buried, not at Crediton, but in his monastery at Tavistock, which he had greatly favoured and adorned.

[A.D. 1046—1071.] LEOFRIC, the successor of Living in the sees of Crediton and Cornwall, which remained united, was a bishop of very different character. The "king's priest," and the "king's high-chancellor," he seems to have reflected the earnest piety of the royal Confessor, under whom he was appointed. A document inserted in a volume of the Gospels, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, but which was originally Leofric's own donation to the monastery of St. Peter at Exeter, describes him as a man "of modest life and conversation, who, when he succeeded to his see, went about his diocese studiously preaching the Word of God to the people committed to him, and instructing the clergy in learning." It is added that he built churches not a few, and vigorously administered the other duties of his office. The assertion of Florence of Worcester, that Leofric was a Briton (*Britonicus*), is rendered doubtful by his name. It is more certain that, as Malmesbury tells us, his early years were spent in Lotharingia, (*apud Lotharingos altus et doctus*).

[A.D. 1050.] Under Bishop Leofric the episcopal seat for the united sees of Devon and Cornwall was removed from Crediton to Exeter. After the Norman Conquest the seats of many of the Saxon bishoprics which had been established in the open country, (*in villulis*, such as Sherborne, Dor-

chester, Crediton,) were transferred to safer positions within the walls of the chief towns. The necessity for this change, however, had already become evident in the days of the Confessor. Devon and Cornwall had been frequently overrun by the Northmen, who had not spared the religious houses, and who, whilst wintering at Exeter, as they had done more than once, must have readily found their way to Crediton, by the river side, or along the ancient hill road. The Bishop's flocks and herds, and the treasures of his church, must have been frequently swept away; and accordingly, "the barbarous attacks of pirates" is stated as the especial reason which induced Bishop Leofric to apply for the permission of king and pope to remove his see from the "vill" of Crediton to the city of Exeter<sup>4</sup>. A monastery had been founded by Athelstan (c. 928) in Exeter, and dedicated to St. Mary and St. Peter. This monastery, with its possessions, was now (1050) solemnly assigned to Bishop Leofric as the chief place of his see, and its conventual church became his cathedral. He was installed in the episcopal chair by the Confessor himself, who "supported his right arm, and Queen Eadgytha his left." The ceremony took place in presence of the two archbishops, and of many other bishops and nobles.

<sup>4</sup> It is probable that the Saxon cathedral did not occupy the exact site of the present church of the Holy Cross at Crediton, but stood slightly more to the south, perhaps within the existing churchyard. The earliest portions of the present church are of late Norman character.

\* Athelstan should perhaps be regarded as only the second founder of this monastery; since a house of Benedictines already existed at Exeter in the time of Winfred of Crediton, (680). Asser, who died Bishop of Sherborne about the year 910, asserts that he received from King Alfred "Exeter, with its whole *paræcia* in Devon and Cornwall," probably referring to this monastery. Whether he exercised episcopal jurisdiction over any part of Devonshire is uncertain. See Pauli, sect. 5.

Although there was somewhat more security within the walls of Exeter than at Crediton, the monastery of St. Peter had been greatly despoiled, partly by Earl Harold (afterwards king), and partly by the Northmen. Only two hydes of land, at Ide, remained in its possession, and upon these were only seven head of cattle. The monastery itself was not much better furnished. Half-a-dozen books of little value, and "one worthless priest's dress," were all the library and wardrobe that, according to his own statement, Bishop Leofric found in it when he took possession. His will enumerates the estates which he recovered for the minster, the vestments, articles of church furniture, and sacred vessels, which he bestowed on it, besides many books both in English and Latin, one of which was the "great English book with everything wrought poetry-wise," which still remains among the treasures of the cathedral. It is probable that but a small number of monks remained in the convent at the time of Leofric's accession. They are said to have been removed by the Confessor to the Abbey of Westminster, which he was then in course of establishing; and Leofric replaced them, at Exeter, with a body of prebendaries, or canons, who, says Malmesbury, "not according to English custom, but rather following that of Lotharingia," lived together, eating at a common table, and sleeping in a common dormitory<sup>1</sup>.

[A.D. 1068.] Leofric was not displaced at the period of the Conquest, and was no doubt within the walls of Exeter during the siege of the city by the Norman king in the year 1068. He may have assisted in inducing the citizens to submit to the Conqueror. At all events, he continued

<sup>1</sup> The rule which they followed was that of St. Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, in Lorraine (Lotharingia), from whence Leofric no doubt brought it. "Hic" (Chrodegangus) "clerum adunavit, et ad instar cœnobii intra claustrorum septa conversari fecit, normamque eis instituit qualiter in ecclesia militare deberent."—*Paul Warnefrid, Gesta Episc. Metensium, ap. Pertz, t. i.*

undisturbed in his bishopric until his death in 1072. He was buried in the crypt of his cathedral, and two memorials for him were erected, at later periods, in the present church, where they still remain.

[A.D. 1072—1107.] His successor was OSBERN, a Norman by birth, and brother of Earl William of Hereford. He had, however, been brought up in England, in the family of the Confessor, to whom, according to Malmesbury, he was in some degree related. His habits and modes of life were consequently nearer allied to those of the English than to the "pomp" of the Normans. He followed in all things the "customs" of his former lord, King Edward. Content, after the fashion of the ancient bishops, with the old and venerable buildings, he cared little for erecting others, such as the newly-appointed Norman prelates were raising on all sides. Hence he was greatly beloved by the people, and "was," says Malmesbury, "held to be generous in disposition and altogether undefiled in his body." He died, blind, early in the reign of the first Henry.

[A.D. 1107—1128.] WILLIAM WARELWAST, nephew of the Conqueror, to whom, as well as to his two sons, Rufus and Henry Beauclerc, he was chaplain, proceeded (c. 1112), with the true architectural instincts of a Norman prelate, to remove the Saxon cathedral of Leofric and of Osbern, and to erect a more sumptuous edifice on its site. Of this (commenced, but not completed, by Warelwast), the massive transeptal towers are the sole remains. It was greatly injured by fire during the siege of Exeter by Stephen, (1136). Bishop Warelwast was also the founder of the Augustinian priory of Plympton, which, under the patronage of subsequent bishops and of numerous lay-benefactors, became the wealthiest religious house in Devonshire. When bishop elect of Exeter, William Warelwast had been sent to Rome in order to support the King's cause against that of Archbishop Anselm in the famous dispute concerning investitures which had been referred to Pope Paschal II. In his

latter days he is said, like his predecessor, to have become blind ; when, says Hoker, “ having small joy of the world, he gave over his bishopric, and became one of the religious canons in his own house of Plympton, where he died and was buried\*.”

[A.D. 1128—1150.] ROBERT CHICHESTER is said to have enriched his church with relics, and to have been a liberal contributor to the new buildings. A tomb attributed to him exists on the south side of the choir. His successor—

[A.D. 1150—1159.] ROBERT WARELWAST, nephew of Bishop William, was, like him, buried at Plympton. The line of nobly-born prelates is here broken by—

[A.D. 1159—1184.] BARTHOLOMÆUS ISCANUS, of Exeter, (Isca,) the son of humble parents, who was educated, in all probability, in the Cistercian Abbey of Ford, on the eastern border of Devon, with the abbot of which house, Baldwin, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, he maintained a life-long intimacy. His great learning and piety assisted in raising him to the bishopric of his native city, where he shone as one of the two great lights of the English Church, “ duo luminaria Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,” the title bestowed by Pope Alexander III. on this Bishop and Roger, Bishop of Worcester. “ Erant,” says Gervasius Cambrensis, “ quasi gemina candelabra Britanniam totam fulgore claritatis suæ irradiantia.” Bishop Bartholomæus had been the decided opponent of Becket in the early part of his contest with Henry II., especially during the famous scene at Northampton. He subsequently became a warm friend of the Archbishop, and twelve months after his murder assisted the Bishop of Chester in re-consecrating the polluted Cathedral of Canterbury. On this occasion (Dec. 21,

\* Hoker asserts (what is contradicted by other authorities) that it was after his consecration as bishop, and after his having become blind, that Warelwast “ for his wisdom was sent in embassy to Pope Paschalis the Second.” Nothing is said of his blindness, however, by Eadmer, or by any of the chroniclers.

1171,) the Bishop of Exeter celebrated mass,—the first since the murder,—and preached a sermon on the text,—“For the multitude of the sorrows that I had in my heart, Thy comforts have refreshed my soul.”

A remarkable Penitential, set forth by this bishop for observance throughout his diocese, still exists, and condemns many superstitions which are yet prevalent in the west. Others mentioned in it, such as that of the wehrwolf, have disappeared. Matthew Paris records an adventure of Bishop Bartholomæus, during one of his visitations, which not less curiously illustrates the common belief of his time: the dead in a certain churchyard were heard by him loudly lamenting the death of a good man who was in the habit of procuring masses to be said for their repose. (So St. Brinstan of Winchester, whose custom it was to pray for the dead in the different churchyards of his diocese, once heard, after his concluding words, “Requiescant in pace,”—“voces quasi exercitus infiniti e sepulchris respondentium Amen<sup>b</sup>.”) The curious effigy of Bishop Bartholomæus [Plate XII.] remains on the south side of the Lady-chapel. Of the three next bishops,

[A.D. 1184—1191.] JOHN THE CHAUNTER, (so called from his having been raised from that office (precentor) to the bishopric);

[A.D. 1191—1206.] HENRY MARSHALL [Plate XII.], (brother of Walter, Earl Marshal of England; his tomb is on the north side of the choir); and

[A.D. 1206—1224.] SIMON DE APULIA [Plate XIV.], (“*eximie et prudentie et literaturæ vir*,” says Matthew of Westminster; in his time the city of Exeter is said to have been divided into parishes; his tomb is on the south side of the Lady-chapel),—little has been recorded. Their successor,

[A.D. 1224—1244.] WILLIAM BRUERE, was one of those high-born and warlike prelates who were at least as well skilled in flinging a lance as in the use of the mass-book.

<sup>b</sup> Rudborne, Hist. Major, ap. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, t. i.

He was son of Sir William de Bruere, founder of the great abbeys of Tor and Hartland, and one of Henry III.'s chief counsellors. Together with Peter de Rupibus, the powerful Bishop of Winchester, Bishop Bruere led the body of English crusaders which was present at Acre in the year 1228, when the Emperor Frederick II. concluded his treaty with Sultan Kameel<sup>1</sup>; and after his return was appointed (1235) to convey the Princess Isabella, sister of Henry III., to Worms, where her marriage was celebrated with the same famous Emperor. In his own church of Exeter he founded the deanery, and (it is said) created twenty-four prebendaries.

[A.D. 1245—1258.] Of RICHARD BLONDY there is nothing to record, except his Devonshire birth, which was at least obscure.

[A.D. 1258—1281.] WALTER BRONESCOMB, like his predecessor and Bartholomæus Iscanus, the son of a poor Exeter citizen, was not in priest's orders (although Archdeacon of Surrey) at the time of his election; and it is recorded as a marvel, that within a fortnight his election was accepted by the King, and confirmed by the Archbishop; and that he was ordained both priest and bishop. He did much for his see, though not without sundry accusations of craft and underhand policy. He was the founder of the College of Glaseney, in Cornwall; and besides building an episcopal residence at Bishop's Clyst, much of the earlier portion of the existing cathedral—part of the Lady-chapel and the adjoining chantries—was his work. The Fabric Rolls which have been preserved commence in the last year but one of his episcopate, (1279). His magnificent tomb (only the effigy on which is of his own time) is on the south side of the Lady-chapel. His birth in Exeter was thus commemorated in the inscription, now illegible:—

“*Laudibus immensis jubilat gens Exoniensis  
Et chorus et turbæ quod natus in hac fuit urbe.*”

<sup>1</sup> See Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv.

[A.D. 1281—1292.] PETER QUIVIL continued the works of his predecessor in the cathedral, completing the Lady-chapel and forming the transepts out of Bishop Warelwast's towers. Bishop Quivil (whose confessor was a Dominican) is said to have dealt hardly with the Franciscans, who charitably attributed his death, which occurred on St. Francis' Eve, "whilst the Bishop was drinking of a certain sirrop," to the vengeance of their patron saint. His tombstone, with the line, "*Petra tegit Petrum nihil officiat sibi tetrum*," lies in the centre of the Lady-chapel. The Constitutions set forth by him in a diocesan synod will be found at length in Wilkins, *Con. Angl.*, vol. ii., and the most remarkable in Collier's *Eccles. Hist.*, bk. v.

The roofing of the Lady-chapel and parts of the choir-aisles were completed under

[A.D. 1292—1306.] THOMAS DE BYTTON, who was otherwise active in his diocese, and whose tomb, before the high altar of his cathedral, was opened in 1763. The remains then discovered are preserved in the chapter-house. A grant of forty days' indulgence, by three archbishops and five bishops, dated Rome, A.D. 1300, in favour of all true penitents who should avail themselves of Bishop de Bytton's spiritual ministry, or offer up prayers for his prosperity whilst living, or after death for the repose of his soul, or those of his parents, is preserved among the Episcopal Archives. The seals of the Archbishops of Jerusalem and Cosenza, and of the Bishop of St. Mark's, Venice, are still attached to it. After the election of

[A.D. 1306—1329.] WALTER DE STAPLEDON, the episcopate continued in aristocratic hands for some successions. Stapledon was a younger son of Sir Richard Stapledon, of Annery, near Torrington. His enthronization was unusually splendid, and the feast which succeeded it is said to have consumed the revenues of the see for an entire year. In his own cathedral, besides other decorations which have long disappeared, he erected the four east-

ward bays of the choir. In Oxford he was the founder of Stapledon's Inn, (now Exeter College,) and of Hart Hall, which stood on the north side of Broad-street. In London, Bishop Stapledon built "a very fair house" without Temple Bar, for the use of himself and his successors; afterwards bought by Queen Elizabeth's Earl of Essex, and known as Essex House. The Bishop early became one of Edward II.'s privy counsellors, and in 1320 was created Lord High Treasurer. In 1325 he was attached to the embassy which accompanied Queen Isabella to the court of her brother, Charles of France, who was planning to deprive Edward II. of his French dominions. A treaty, to which Edward agreed, was concluded, and Bishop Stapledon returned to England. The Queen, asserting her fear of the Spensers, the favourites of her husband, remained in France, attended by "her gentle Mortimer;" and after war had been declared between the two countries, she landed on the Suffolk coast, supported by a body of 2,000 troops from Hainault. She was immediately joined by the great body of discontented nobles, and advanced at once to London. The King fled to Bristol, leaving the city of London in charge of the Bishop of Exeter, who accordingly demanded the keys of the city from the Mayor. But the citizens rose on the Queen's side, attacked the Bishop as he was riding through the streets, dragged him from the church of St. Paul, where he had taken refuge, and hurrying him to the "great cross in Chepe," there beheaded him, together with certain other knights, (Oct. 15, 1326). The body of the Bishop was at first flung aside irreverently, but afterwards, for the sake of concealment, was buried in the sand, on the river side, near his own palace. Six months later it was removed, by the Queen's command, to his cathedral at Exeter, where it was interred with great magnificence. His tomb remains on the north side of the choir. A diligent search after the murderers of Bishop Stapledon was ordered in a synod held in London in 1329, under Simon

Mepham, Archbishop of Canterbury; and such of them as could be discovered were tried and executed accordingly.

[March A.D. 1326-7—June 1327.] **JAMES BERKELEY**, of the noble house of Berkeley, succeeded through the interest of Queen Isabella. He died at Yacombe in Devon, and was buried on the south side of the choir of Exeter cathedral. He was canon of this cathedral before his elevation to the see.

[A.D. 1327—1369.] **JOHN GRANDISSON** was by far the most magnificent prelate who ever filled the see of Exeter, which he occupied during the most brilliant period of English chivalry and of the English Church. His father, descended from the ancient house of the Grandissons, Dukes of Burgundy, had come into England with Henry, Earl of Lancaster, and had married Sybilla, daughter and heiress of John Tregos, Lord of Ewias, near Hereford. In that neighbourhood the future bishop was born, and early became a good scholar, "very grave, wise, and politick." When very young he was attached to the Papal Court, and was especially favoured by Pope John XXII., for whom he acted as nuncio at the courts "of all the mightiest princes of Christendom." On the death of Bishop Berkeley, John Godley, a Canon of Exeter, was chosen as his successor by the Chapter. This election, however, was not confirmed by the Pope, and Grandisson, who was then at the Papal Court, was consecrated Bishop of Exeter, (either on the nomination of the young King Edward III., or on that of John XXII. himself,) in the Dominican Church at Avignon, October 18, 1327. He presided over his diocese, firmly and liberally, for more than forty years, being, says Hoker, "altogether given in doing some good things." He at once proceeded with the works at the cathedral; dedicated the high altar, December 18, 1328; completed the nave about the year 1350; and after constructing the beautiful western screen, was interred (1369) in the chantry of St. Radegund, formed in its

thickness<sup>1</sup>. Having purchased the church and manor of St. Mary Ottery from the Chapter of Rouen, (to which body they had been given by the Confessor,) he founded there a collegiate establishment of forty members, greatly adding to and improving the old church, which should be compared throughout with his work at the cathedral. Monuments, with effigies, for Sir Otho de Grandisson, brother of the Bishop, and his wife, remain in the church at Ottery. On his manor of Bishops Teignton he built "a very fair house," which he left for the use of his successors, but "did impropriate unto the parsonage of Radway, to the intent that they might have where to lay their head, if their temporalities should at any time be seized by the King." It was during Grandisson's episcopate that the Black Prince twice visited Exeter; first after landing at Plymouth with the captive King of France, and later, when he returned sick to England with his wife and son, afterwards Richard II. In 1343, Grandisson was sent as ambassador from the King to Pope Clement VI., when "he did his message with much wisdom." He vigorously defended the rights of his own diocese; and when Archbishop Mepham attempted to enforce a personal visitation, Bishop Grandisson met him at the west door of the cathedral with a body of armed attendants, between whom and the Archbishop's followers a contest would have taken place, had it not been arranged that the dispute should be referred to the Pope. "This affront," says Fuller, "did half break Mepham's heart, and the Pope siding with the Bishop of Exeter, did break the other half." He died soon after his return to Kent. Notwithstanding "his great and chargeable buildings," and other works, Bishop Grandisson died very wealthy. His riches are said to have been accumulated by means of his personal economies. "His diet," says Hoker, "was frugal, his receipts great, his expences no more than necessary. . . . He sequestered from himself,

<sup>1</sup> But see Part III. Note A.

out of his house, the troop of many men and horses, training and keeping no more than to serve his reasonable estate." His death occurred on St. Swithun's Day, 1369.

1369—1394.] THOMAS BRANTYNGHAM, Edward III.'s treasurer in Picardy, and more than once Lord High Treasurer of England, continued to contest the right of the bishops of Canterbury to a personal visitation of his diocese, but without the success of his predecessor. During the contest some of Bishop Brantyngham's servants fell in the Archbishop's mandatory, Thomas Hill, in the town of Topsham, about six miles from Exeter, and having sacked his bags, found in them a writ, to which the archiepiscopal seal was attached, summoning the Bishop to appear before his metropolitan, Archbishop Courtenay. After much ill-usage, Brantyngham's men compelled the Archbishop's mandatory to swallow both the writ and its waxen seal; a proceeding which, however gratifying for the moment, eventually proved anything but advantageous to the Bishop. The King withdrew his protection. Brantyngham abandoned his appeal to Rome, and finally made full submission to Archbishop Courtenay, whose right of visitation was henceforth duly recognised. The cloisters, and some other parts of the cathedral, were completed by the bishop, whose chantry, which has disappeared, was on the north side of the nave.

1394—1419.] EDMUND STAFFORD [Plate XIV.], brother of Ralph Lord Stafford, (created Earl of Stafford by Edward III.,) twice Lord Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal,—“quondam profundus legum doctor reputatus,” as the inscription on his monument ran,—enlarged, and was a liberal benefactor to, Stapledon's Inn at Oxford, to which it gave its present name, Exeter College. His fine monument remains on the north side of the Lady-chapel.

1419.] JOHN KETTERICH was translated from the diocese of Lichfield to that of Exeter, over which he presided, however, for not more than a month before his death,

which occurred at Florence, where his alabaster tomb, with effigy, exists in the church of Sta. Croce. There is a model of it in the chapter library at Exeter.

[A.D. 1420—1455.] EDMUND LACEY, in spite of much contention with the city of Exeter on account of the liberties of his cathedral, died in such an odour of sanctity, that numerous miracles were said to have taken place at his tomb, to which "the common people" resorted much in pilgrimage. It remains on the north side of the choir. Lacey was the only one of the Bishops of Exeter to whom any reputation of unusual sanctity attached after death. During his episcopate, Henry VI. was entertained for eight days (July, 1451,) in his palace at Exeter, and held a "gaol delivery" in the Bishop's hall. Two men were condemned, but were released on the remonstrances of the Bishop and clergy, who protested against the King's exercise of temporal authority within the sanctuary of the Church. The *Liber Pontificalis* of Bishop Lacey, an interesting and important MS., still preserved among the treasures of his cathedral, was edited and published by Ralph Barnes, Esq., (Roberts, Exeter,) in 1847.

[A.D. 1455—1465.] GEORGE NEVILLE (elected and confirmed 1455, but not consecrated until 1458,) was one of those Englishmen of noble houses by whom the high places of the Church were at this time, for the most part, filled; partly, it would seem, (and especially in the case of the primacy,) as a result of the deliberate determination of the Pope and the Crown to band together the Church and the nobles "against the spiritual and civil democracy, on one side of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, on the other of the extreme followers of Wycliffe\*." Neville is a striking representative of the feudal Churchman. When only fourteen years old, "the nobility of his descent" induced the Pope, Nicholas V., to grant him a dispensation for holding a canonry in the church of Salisbury, together with one in

\* Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vi. 392.

that of York. When twenty-three he was nominated Bishop of Exeter; but, as he could not be consecrated until twenty-seven, a papal bull was granted him for receiving the profits in the meantime. Portions of the chapter-house were erected by him and by his predecessor. In the year 1465, Neville was translated to the see of York, on which occasion his installation-feast presented one of the most marvellous culinary displays on record. For details of this, and for the subsequent fortunes of the Archbishop, see YORK.

[A.D. 1466—1478.] JOHN BOTHE was the donor of the episcopal throne which remains in the choir of his cathedral. Devonshire was much divided during the wars of the Roses. Numerous skirmishes, riots, and murders took place in Exeter and its neighbourhood; and in 1469, the city, in which the Duchess of Clarence was then residing, was besieged by Hugh Courtenay, the Lancastrian Earl of Devon. According to Hoker, Bishop Bothe removed at this time to his manor of East Horsley, in Surrey, "weary of the great troubles which were in the country." He was buried in the church of East Horsley, where his curious brass may still be seen.

[A.D. 1478—1487.] PETER COURTENAY was translated in the latter year to the see of Winchester.

[A.D. 1487—1491.] RICHARD FOX when a student at Paris had become attached to the service of the Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., who was then seeking the assistance of the French King. On his acquisition of the crown of England, Henry made Fox Lord Privy Seal, and employed him in various embassies. In the second year of his patron's reign he was created Bishop of Exeter, and was removed successively to the sees of Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester. (See the last-named cathedral.)

[A.D. 1492—1495.] OLIVER KING witnessed the siege of Exeter by Perkin Warbeck. He was translated to the see of Bath and Wells, and built, in obedience to a dream, the Abbey Church in the former city. (See WELLS.)

[A.D. 1496—1501.] RICHARD REDMAN, translated to Ely.

[A.D. 1501—1503.] JOHN ARUNDELL, translated to Exeter from Lichfield.

[A.D. 1504 — 1519.] HUGH OLDHAM had been chaplain to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. He was joint founder, with Fox, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; and it was, according to Fuller, at the instance of Bishop Oldham, who foresaw the coming changes, that Fox was induced to found a college instead of a monastery, as he had at first intended. His chantry remains, in the south choir-aisle. The arms of the see, as borne at present, (Gules, a sword erect in pale argent, pomelled and hilted or, surmounted by two keys in saltire of the last,) were settled by this bishop. Earlier examples vary the position of the keys and sword.

[A.D. 1519, surrendered 1551.] JOHN VEYSEY, or HARMAN, was "accounted of all the bishops of the land the courtliest," a quality which brought him into high favour with Henry VIII., by whom he was made Lord President of Wales and governor of the Princess Mary. For at least three centuries before Veysey's episcopate, Exeter Cathedral ranked among the richest ecclesiastical establishments in the kingdom. It possessed thirty-two manors, (twenty-five of which were in Devonshire and Cornwall,) besides fourteen "fair palaces, each severally furnished with all competent necessities;" and its annual revenue was calculated at about £7,000, equivalent to more than £100,000 at present<sup>1</sup>. The greater part of this wealth—but unwillingly, and only in obedience to imperious mandates from the Crown—was dispersed by Bishop Veysey, who "left but

<sup>1</sup> The fourteen palaces of the Bishops of Exeter were, in Cornwall, Cargol and Cuddenbeck; in Devonshire, Crediton, Bishop's Tawton, Chudleigh, Paignton, Bishop's Morchard, Bishop's Nympton, Bishop's Teignton, Bishop's Clyst, and the episcopal palace at Exeter. In Surrey they had a palace at East Horsley, and in London that built by Bishop Stapledon near Temple Bar.

three manors, and them also leased out; and but one house, bare and without furniture, and yet charged with sundry fees and annuities." The rest had been alienated in various ways and to various persons. "Some," says Fuller (Worthies—Warwickshire), "have confidently affirmed in my hearing, that the word 'to *veize*,' that is, in the west, 'to drive away with a witness,' had its originall from his profligating of the lands of his bishoprick, but I yet demure to the truth thereof<sup>m</sup>." The Bishop also spent large sums in "building a town called Sutton Coleshill," (in Warwickshire, now Sutton Coldfield,) "where he was born, which he procured to be incorporated and made a market-town, and set up therein making of kersies," (woollen cloths so called, for which Crediton, where the Bishops of Exeter had a favourite palace, was the chief place of manufacture,) "but all which in the end came to small effect." Bishop Veysey seems to have resided but little in his own diocese; his sympathies were with the Romanizing party; and the rising in Devonshire for the "old religion" under Edward VI. (1549), was partly laid to his charge, since his presence might possibly have prevented or restrained it. He accordingly (1551, it would appear on this charge) resigned the bishopric into the King's hands, retaining, according to Hoker, the temporalities for his life. Miles Coverdale succeeded him; and on that bishop's deprivation (1553) under Queen Mary, Veysey returned for a short time to Exeter; but again retiring to Sutton Coldfield, died there, at the age of 103, in the year 1555. His monument remains in

<sup>m</sup> Letters still exist, proving the unwillingness with which Bishop Veysey alienated the manors of his see. But Exeter shared the general fate. "Almost every bishopric was spoiled by the ravenous power of courtiers in this reign (Henry VIII.), either through mere alienations, or long leases, or unequal exchanges. Exeter and Llandaff, from being among the richest sees, fell into the class of the poorest. Lichfield lost the chief part of its lands to raise an estate for Lord Paget. London, Winchester, and even Canterbury suffered considerably."—*Hallam, Const. Hist.*, ch. ii.

the church, and is duly kept in repair by the corporation whose charter he procured.

[A.D. 1551—1553.] MILES COVERDALE, born in Yorksh and educated at Cambridge, became an Augustinian can but was afterwards one of the earliest supporters of English Reformation. He assisted Tyndale in the complete version of the Bible, printed probably at Hambu in 1535. A second edition followed in 1537, and was t "permitted to be set up in parish churches" by Henry VI Coverdale spent this portion of his life in Flanders a Germany, under the patronage of the Palgrave. He turned to England after the death of Henry, "when Gospel had a free passage, and did very much good preaching of the same." When Lord Russell was s into Devonshire, in 1549, for the suppression of the risi Coverdale attended him as chaplain, and preached on t field, after the skirmish at St. Mary Clyst. On Bish Veysey's resignation in 1551, he was appointed to the of Exeter; and his subsequent manner of life is thus described by Hoker, or Vowell, the historian of Exeter, w was personally acquainted with him":—"He preach continually upon every holy-day, and did read most co monly twice in the week in some one church or oth within this city. He was, after the rate of his livings great keeper of hospitality, very sober in diet, godly in li friendly to the godly, liberal to the poor, and courteous all men; void of pride, full of humility, abhorring covousness, and an enemy to all wickedness and wicked m whose companies he shunned, and whom he would in

\* John Hooker, or Hoker, alias Vowell, uncle of the "judicio Hooker, was a native of Exeter, and chamberlain of the city fr 1555 to about 1600. He contributed much toward the enlargeme of Holinshed's Chronicle, besides writing many pamphlets relati to the history and antiquities of Devonshire. His personal a quaintance with the Bishops of Exeter from 1550 to the end the century gives an especial value to his notices of them.

wise shroud, or have in his house or company. His wife, a most sober, chaste, and godly matron. His house and household another church, in which was exercised all godliness and virtue; no one person being in his house which did not, from time to time, give an account of his faith and religion, and also did live accordingly." Coverdale was not, however, popular in the west, the general feeling of which was still strongly Romanist. "Notwithstanding this good man, now a blameless bishop, lived most godly and virtuously, yet the common people, whose old bottles would receive no new wine, could not brook or digest him, for no other cause but because he was a preacher of the Gospel, an enemy to Papistry, and a married man. Many devices were attempted against him for his confusion, sometimes by false suggestions, sometimes by open railings and false libels, sometimes by secret backbitings; and in the end, practised his death by empoisoning: but by the providence of God, the snares were broken, and he delivered." Coverdale was deprived and imprisoned on the accession of Mary, but was released at the earnest request of Christiern, King of Denmark, and permitted to retire to that country, whence he went to Geneva. He returned to England on Queen Mary's death, but was never restored to his bishopric, partly owing, it is said, to his adherence to the principles of the Genevan Reformers. The living of St. Magnus, in London, was bestowed upon him in 1564; but this also, from his nonconformity, he was compelled to relinquish two years later. He died, aged 81, in 1569, and was interred in the church of "St. Bartholomew by the Exchange," since pulled down for the Sun Fire Office (1840), when the remains were transferred to St. Magnus. Bishop Veysey was restored to the see of Exeter on the accession of Mary, and held it till his death in 1554. His successor,

[A.D. 1555, deprived 1559.] JAMES TURBERVILLE, Queen Mary's bishop, "was," says Hoker, "very gentle and cour-

teous, of a good house.....most zealous in the Romish religion, and yet nothing cruel nor bloody." The death of Agnes Priest, the only "martyr" in the diocese for the sake of religion, was attributed, and justly, according to Fuller, far more to Blackstone, the Bishop's chancellor, than to Turberville himself. She was condemned on the usual question of transubstantiation, and burnt in Southernhay, without the walls of Exeter, in Nov. 1558.

[A.D. 1560—1570.] WILLIAM ALLEYN, appointed by Elizabeth on Turberville's deprivation, was a scholar "very well learned, whose chief study and profession was in divinity and in the tongues." He compiled a Hebrew grammar, which, however, was never printed. "He seemed," says Hoker, "to the first appearance, to be a rough and austere man; but in very truth, a very courteous, gentle, and an affable man; at his table full of honest speeches, joined with learning and pleasantness, according to the time, place, and company: at his exercises, which for the most part was at bowls, very merry and pleasant, void of all sadness, which might abate the benefit of recreation." Some fragments of the lands alienated by Veysey had been recovered by Bishop Turberville; but the revenues of the cathedral were so reduced, that Bishop Alleyn, acting under the royal authority, limited the number of canons residentiary to nine. By recent legislation the number has sunk to four. Of

[A.D. 1570—1578.] WILLIAM BRADBRIDGE nothing is recorded beyond the interesting fact that "it was thought he died very rich, but after his death it proved otherwise."

[A.D. 1579—1594.] JOHN WOLTON was "universally seen in all good letters."

[A. D. 1594, translated to Worcester 1597.] GERVASE BABINGTON was the author of "Comfortable Notes upon the Five Books of Moses," of "A Conference betwixt Man's Frailty and Faith," and of other theological works.

[A.D. 1598—1621.] WILLIAM COTTON, and

[A. D. 1621 — 1626.] VALENTINE CAREY ("a compleat gentleman and excellent scholar," says Fuller,) need only be named.

[A. D. 1627, translated to Norwich 1641.] JOSEPH HALL claims a longer notice. Born in 1574, "of honest parentage," at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire, he was educated at Cambridge, and in 1597 published his volume of *Satires*, in which he claims to be the first English satirist :—

"I first adventure, follow me who list  
And be the second English satyrst."

"In a general sense of satire he had, however, been anticipated by Gascoyne; but Hall has more of the direct Juvenalian invective, which he may have reckoned essential to that species of poetry." He became successively Vicar of Waltham, Prebendary of Wolverhampton, and Dean of Worcester; and in 1618 was one of the company of English divines appointed to attend the Synod of Dort. In 1627 he accepted the bishopric of Exeter, and was remarkable, during the thirteen years which he presided over the diocese, for a spirit of conciliation which scarcely permitted him to support with much zeal the Laudian system of "Thorough." He wrote, however, at this time, his treatise on the "Divine Institution of Episcopacy," a decided although moderate defence of Church-of-England principles. In November, 1641, he was translated to Norwich; but on the following 30th of December, having joined with other bishops in the protestation against the validity of all laws made during their forced absence from the Parliament, he was sent, with the rest, to the Tower. He was released in the following June, and remained tolerably quiet at Norwich until April, 1643, when he was "sequestered" as a delinquent. The sufferings which he underwent at this time he has himself described, and a fuller notice of them will be found under NORWICH. He

• Hallam, Lit. Hist.

retired in 1647 to a small estate at Heigham, near Norwich, where he died in 1656. "He may be said," says Fuller, (Worthies—Leicestershire,) "to have died with his pen in his hand, whose writing and living expired together. He was commonly called our English Seneca, for the purenesse, plainnesse, and fulnesse of his style. Not unhappy at controversies, more happy at comments, very good in his characters, better in his sermons, best of all in his meditations." Hallam has compared him with his greater contemporary, Jeremy Taylor:—"Both had equally pious and devotional tempers; both were full of learning; both fertile of illustration; both may be said to have had strong imagination and poetical genius, though Taylor let his predominate a little more ..... In some of their writings these two great divines resemble each other, on the whole, so much, that we might for a short time not discover which we were reading<sup>p</sup>."

[A.D. 1642—1659.] RALPH BROWNRIGG succeeded, on the translation of Bishop Hall; but to little more than the title of bishop. He passed the years of his sequestration with his friend Thomas Rich, of Sunning, in Berkshire, until in 1658 he was appointed preacher to the Temple. He died in the following year, and his funeral sermon was delivered by his successor—

[A.D. 1660, trans. 1662.] JOHN GAUDEN. "A very comely person," says Anthony Wood, "and a man of vast parts." So ambitious, however, was Gauden, and so clamorous for preferment, that his better qualities have been greatly obscured. He is chiefly remarkable as the probable author of the famous *Icon Basilike*, professing to contain the private meditations and prayers of King Charles. Gauden was in early life chaplain to Robert, Earl of Warwick, and so greatly edified the Long Parliament in November, 1640, by preaching before the Lower House "against pictures, images, and other superstitions of popery," that they pre-

<sup>p</sup> Lit. Hist., pt. iii. ch. 2.

sented him with a large silver tankard, and in the following year with the rich Deanery of Bocking, in Essex. The rightful patron, however, was Archbishop Laud, then in the Tower, from whom Gauden thought it most prudent to procure a collation. He was chosen one of the assembly of divines who met at Westminster in 1643 and took the covenant. About this latter step, however, he afterwards publicly set forth his scruples, and not only protested against the King's trial, but wrote and published a "just invective" against his "murderers." The *Icon Basilike* was partly printed before the death of the King, but a discovery was made and the sheets were destroyed. A second attempt was more successful. The book was not published, however, until some days after the royal execution. The publisher was anxiously sought for by the party in power, but Gauden escaped, and after succeeding Bishop Brownrigg as preacher to the Temple, was, on the restoration, also appointed his successor in the see of Exeter, receiving £20,000 in fines on the renewal of leases. Yet with this preferment he was by no means satisfied. He represented, it is said, that "Exeter had a high rack, but a low manger," and that his services in the matter of the *Icon*, the authorship of which he directly claimed in a letter to Clarendon, deserved a higher reward. He was translated to Worcester in 1662, but was still discontented, since he had been looking out for the "better manger" of Winchester. His vexation is said to have hastened his death, which occurred in the same year. That he was the real author of *Icon* is now little doubted. "A strain of majestic melancholy is well kept up; but the personated sovereign is rather too theatrical for real nature, the language is too rhetorical and amplified, the periods too artificially elaborated. None but scholars and practised writers employ such a style as this." "The King's letters during his imprisonment, preserved in the Clarendon State Papers,

† Hallam, Lit. Hist.

and especially one to his son, from which an extract is given in the 'History of the Rebellion,' are more satisfactory proofs of his integrity than all the laboured panegyrics of the *Icon Basilike*.\*

[A.D. 1662—1667.] SETH WARD, Gauden's successor, was already Dean of Exeter. Very severe to Nonconformists, he was a greater benefactor to his cathedral than any bishop since the Reformation. "He first," says his biographer, Dr. Pope, "cast out the buyers and sellers who had usurped it, and therein kept distinct shops to vend their ware. He caused the partition to be pulled down, and repaired and beautified the cathedral, the expenses whereof amounted to £25,000. He also bought a new "pair of organs," esteemed the best in England, which cost £2,000. Bishop Ward was translated to Salisbury in 1667, and died there in 1688. He was a great patron of letters, and the "efficient cause" of the foundation of the Royal Society. See SALISBURY for a further notice of him.

[A.D. 1667, translated 1676.] ANTHONY SPARROW was the well-known author of the "Rationale, or Practical Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer." It was during his episcopate that Duke Cosmo of Tuscany passed through Exeter, and on visiting the cathedral, wondered at the heretical bishop, and still more, at the Bishop's wife, "who sat below him in a wooden enclosure, with her children, no less than nine in number." Bishop Sparrow died at Norwich in 1685.

[A.D. 1676, translated 1688.] THOMAS LAMPLUGH succeeded Sparrow. On receiving the news of the arrival of William of Orange in Tor Bay, Bishop Lamplugh delivered a public address, in which he exhorted the people of his diocese to remain faithful to King James. He proceeded, however, to set them a somewhat unedifying example by taking flight to London, together with Dr. Annesley, the Dean; thus leaving his clergy without a head. On Wil-

\* Hallam, Const. Hist.

liam's arrival in Exeter, one of the most remarkable scenes took place in the cathedral which that venerable edifice had ever witnessed. The "Deliverer" repaired to it in military state. "As he passed under the gorgeous screen, that renowned organ, scarcely surpassed by any of those which are the boast of his native Holland, gave out a peal of triumph. He mounted the Bishop's seat, a stately throne, rich with the carving of the fifteenth century. Burnet stood below, and a crowd of warriors and nobles appeared on the right hand and on the left. The singers, robed in white, sang the *Te Deum*. When the chaunt was over, Burnet read the Prince's declaration; but as soon as the first words were uttered, prebendaries and singers crowded in all haste out of the choir. At the close, Burnet cried in a loud voice, 'God save the Prince of Orange,' and many fervent voices answered, 'Amen.'" Lamplugh's adherence to King James procured him the Archbishopric of York, which had been kept vacant for two years. He was confirmed in his new see before the arrival of William in London, but his Jacobitism was of no very profound character, and did not prevent him from assisting at the coronation of the Prince of Orange. He died at York in 1691.

[1689, trans. to Winchester 1707.] JONATHAN TRELAWNEY was translated to Exeter from Bristol. He is chiefly remarkable from having been (as Bishop of Bristol) one of the famous seven bishops committed to the Tower by James, at which time he became the subject of the Cornish ballad, the burthen of which (all that now remains) runs,—

"And shall Trelawney die?  
And shall Trelawney die?  
There's twenty thousand Cornish lads  
Will know the reason why."

Trelawney died, Bishop of Winchester, in 1721, and was buried in the Church of Pelynt, in Cornwall.

• Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.*, vol. ii.

[A.D. 1707—1716.] **OFFSPRING BLACKHALL**, the originator of the Episcopal Charity Schools in Exeter, was, according to Burnet, a "man of value and worth," but by no means a fervent admirer of the Revolution. A very high character of Blackhall is given by Archbishop Dawes, who was one of his most intimate friends. He had the reputation of being one of the best preachers of his time. Two folio volumes of Blackhall's works, consisting for the most part of sermons and lectures, were published in 1723.

[A.D. 1716—1724.] **LAUNCELOT BLACKBURNE** was translated to the Archbishopric of York in 1724.

[A.D. 1724—1741.] **STEPHEN WESTON** succeeded.

[A.D. 1742, trans. 1746.] **NICHOLAS CLAGGETT**.

[A.D. 1747—1762.] **GEORGE LAVINGTON**. His principal work, "The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared," was attacked by Wesley with much asperity.

Only the names and dates of the remaining Bishops need be added. They are :—

[A.D. 1763—1777.] **FREDERICK KEPPEL**.

[A.D. 1778—1792.] **JOHN ROSS**.

[A.D. 1792—1796.] **WILLIAM BULLER**.

[A.D. 1796—1803.] **HENRY REGINALD COURTENAY**.

[A.D. 1803—1807.] **JOHN FISHER**.

[A.D. 1807—1820.] **GEORGE PELHAM**.

[A.D. 1820—1830.] **WILLIAM CAREY**.

[A.D. April, 1830.] **CHRISTOPHER BETHELL**, author of a "General View of the Doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism," (translated to Bangor in November of the same year,) and

[A.D. 1831.] **HENRY PHILLPOTTS**.

# EXETER CATHEDRAL.

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## PART III.

### NOTE A. (PART I. § VIII.)

PROFESSOR COCKERELL and some other writers have assigned a date for the western screen considerably later than Grandisson's time; and it has been regarded as "a great dissight to the work, considered as a whole,—though it might have been added by a later and another taste." It is also asserted that Grandisson's will furnishes proof that the screen was not built in his day. "Corpus meum," it runs, "quod corrumpitur, et aggravat animam, volo quod sepeliatur *extra ostium* occidentale Ecclesiæ Exoniensis." If, it is argued, the screen had then existed, he could scarcely have used the words "*extra ostium*;" and if the chapel of St. Radegund had existed, especially if built by himself, he would have used the general formula, and have said, "in capella S. Radegundis *extra ostium* Eccl. Cath. Exon. nuper a me constructa," or the like. But in fact, in all the orders for his sepulture, and in all his numerous bequests to several chantries, St. Radegund and her chapel never occur.

"I have no doubt," writes a distinguished architectural critic, "that at Bishop Grandisson's death and burial, the place of his sepulture really was, in the obvious sense of the word, '*extra ostium*;' and that at the building of the screen a chapel was arranged over the place of his obsequies, to his honour. That there was however, somewhere, a chapel of St. Radegund, is clear; for in 1350 a charge of 14s. occurs for glazing two windows in it. Now, stained glass then cost 8d., and plain glass 4d. a-foot; which would make either 42 ft. or 21 ft.; whereas the two windows of the present chapel contain together only about 12 ft. Somewhere or other there must have been some other chapel of this dedication,—not forming, as now, a part of the screen. At all events, I cannot conceive how Grandisson could express his

humility by his desire to be buried 'extra ostium' if he had already prepared a chapel for his sepulture."

These arguments must be allowed their full weight. It may be as well to add that Bishop Grandisson's will is dated Sept. 8th, 1368, and that he died in July of the following year. The architectural difference between the west front and the rest of the nave is most strongly marked in the tracery of the great west window, which is decidedly curvilinear. The question must perhaps remain undecided; but if Grandisson was not the architect, the west front of Exeter must have been the work of his successor, Bishop Brantyngham, whose episcopate was a long one (1369—1394.)

#### NOTE B. (PART I. § XV.)

WHETHER, in the original plan of the Norman church, the towers formed the transepts, as at present, or flanked the western front, is not altogether clear, although there is very strong reason to believe that the first was the case. If they were the western towers, the Norman church must have been a miserably small one; for it could have extended only from the east end of the present presbytery (exclusive of the Lady-chapel) to the existing transept towers; whereas we are expressly told that it far exceeded the Saxon church in dimensions,—and this latter we may presume to have been of a fair size for its date. Moreover, if Grandisson built the nave of seven bays, whilst before there were but five, where were these five except in the Norman fabric?—for no intermediate church is mentioned.

"I can have no doubt," writes the same critic to whom we are indebted for the former note, "that the Norman church in fact extended from the present presbytery to the last bay but one of the present nave; that the present towers were its proper transepts; and that it included within its eastern dimensions the original Saxon church. It has, indeed, been said that the Saxon church occupied the site of the existing Lady-chapel, and of that only; but this is so contrary to all analogy, that it would require the most positive and contemporary evidence to make it appear admissible. We may always, *à priori*, assume the place

of the high altar as the fixed point; and thence add, as occasion serves, a retro-choir or Lady-chapel, or both, eastward; and of course as much choir and nave as we please, westward; but as to deserting the high altar in the first instance, that is next to impossible.

"Moreover, the uses to which they were put shew that the towers were not *mere* towers. Bishop John the Chanter (1194) was buried in the south tower—a most unlikely place for a bishop's obsequies, unless the tower was also a transept. Again, there was an altar in each tower, which would naturally be the case if the towers were transepts. Again, the cloisters are almost invariably ruled in their situation by the transepts of the original church; and here the old cloisters were duly sheltered by the present tower and nave; and the chapter-house also (which is, in its foundation, older than Quivil's time) is arranged with reference to the existing tower, viewed as a transept.

"The question is one of considerable interest; for, in the first place, it decides whether the Church of Ottery St. Mary or that of Exeter was the first to have transept towers; and, in the next place, the great uniformity of design in English churches, where the Normans hardly ever deserted the usual type of central and two western towers, makes it a matter of some importance to search into the exact principle which was followed in the grouping of towers at Exeter."

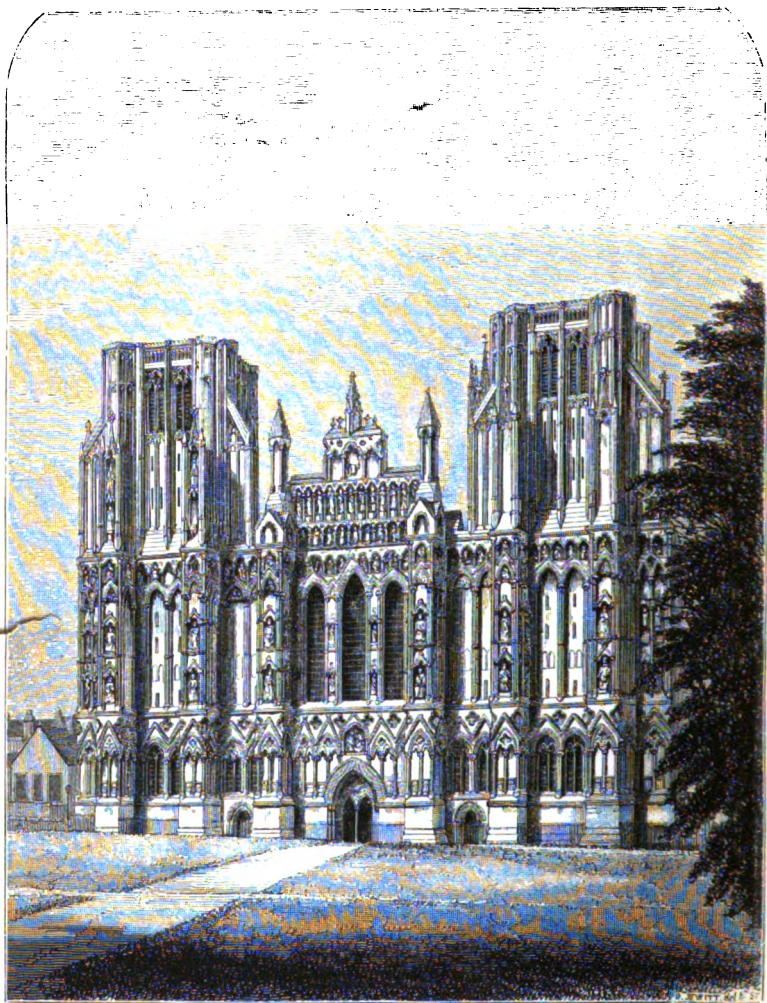
The towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm in Canterbury Cathedral, and that called Gundulf's Tower at Rochester, may to some extent be compared with those of Exeter.





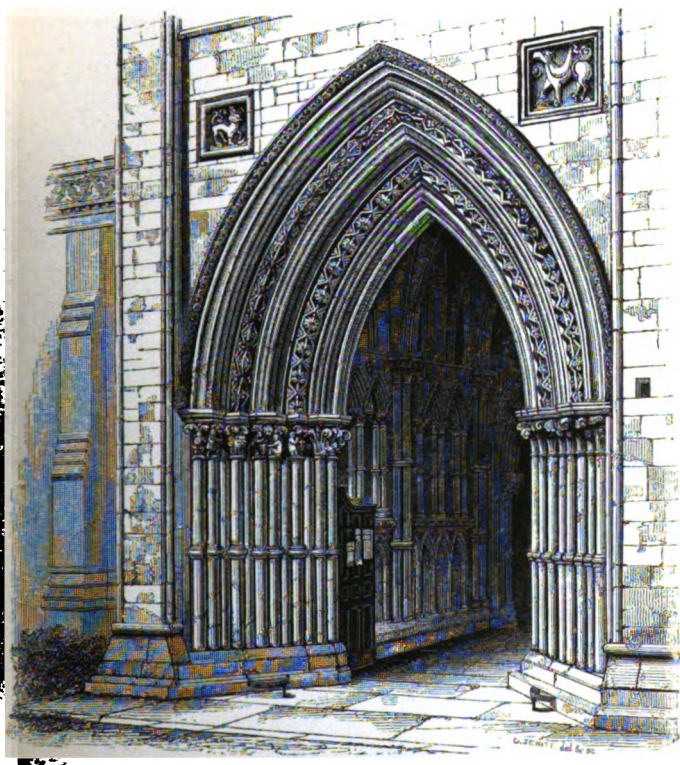
WELLS CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



WEST FRONT.

# WELLS CATHEDRAL.



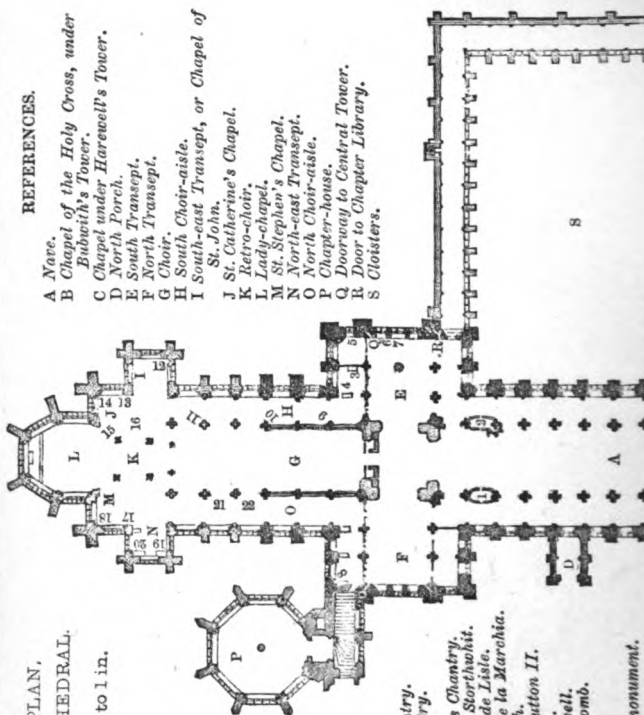
NORTH PORCH.





GROUND PLAN,  
WELLS CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in.



REFERENCES.

- A Nave.
- B Chapel of the Holy Cross, under Buboith's Tower.
- C Chapel under Harewell's Tower.
- D North Porch.
- E South Transept.
- F North Transept.
- G Choir.
- H South Choir-aisle.
- I South-east Transept, or Chapel of St. John.
- J St. Catherine's Chapel.
- K Retro-choir.
- L Lady-chapel.
- M St. Stephen's Chapel.
- N North-east Transept.
- O North Choir-aisle.
- P Chapter-house.
- Q Doorway to Central Tower.
- R Door to Chapter Library.
- S Cloisters.

- 1 Bp. Buboith's Chantry.
- 2 Dean Sugas's Chantry.
- 3 Dean Huse's tomb.
- 4 Part of Beckington's Chantry.
- 5 Tomb of Chancellor Storchwit.
- 6 Monument of Lady de Lisie.
- 7 Monument of Bp. De la Marchia.
- 8 Tomb of Bp. Cornish.
- 9 Monument of Bp. Button II.
- 10 Effigy of Beckington.
- 11 Effigy of Bp. Harewell.
- 12 Dean Gunthorpe's tomb.
- 13 Bp. Burghwold.
- 14 Bp. Dudoc.
- 15 Bp. Drokensford's monument.

# WELLS CATHEDRAL.

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## PART I.

### History and Details.

I. THE Saxon cathedral of Wells (see Part II.) had fallen into complete decay during the century after the Conquest, and was repaired and partly rebuilt by Bishop Robert (1135—1166). Notwithstanding this restoration, however, Bishop JOCELYN OF WELLS (1206—1242) pulled down the whole of the cathedral west of the presbytery and began to rebuild it on a larger scale and with far greater magnificence. Some part of this new church was consecrated by Bishop Jocelyn himself in 1239. The existing *nave*, the *transepts*, the *central tower* as high as the roof, and the *west front* of the cathedral, are the work of this bishop.

About 1286, during the episcopate of Bishop BURNELL (1275—1292), the *crypt* of the chapter-house seems to have been completed, and the *chapter-house* itself is generally, and with all probability, assigned to the time of Bishop WILLIAM DE LA MARCH (1293—1302). In 1321, under Bishop DROKENSFORD (1309—1329), the *central tower* was raised to its present height; and before 1326 the same bishop had seen the completion of the *choir* and *Lady-chapel*.

The upper portion of the *south-west tower* was the work of Bishop HAREWELL (1366—1386); and the *north-west tower* was raised in the same manner by Bishop BUBWITH (1407—1424), who also built the eastern walk of the *cloister*, with the library over it. The western cloister-walk, and part of the southern, were the work of Bishop BECKINGTON (1443—1464). The latter was completed, soon after Beckington's death, by Thomas Henry, treasurer of Wells.

II. In accordance with these dates, the existing cathedral displays very rich and peculiar work of the Early English period in the portions built by Bishop Jocelyn and his successors, and affords excellent examples of early Decorated (geometrical) in its choir, Lady-chapel, and chapter-house. "Though one of the smallest, it is perhaps, taken altogether, the most beautiful of English cathedrals. . . . Externally, its three well-proportioned towers group so gracefully with the chapter-house, the remains of the vicars' close, the ruins of the bishop's palace, and the tall trees by which it is surrounded, that there is no instance so characteristic of English art, nor an effect so pleasing produced with the same dimensions \*." Seen from a distance, the picturesque group of towers and pinnacles derives increased effect from the beauty and variety of the surrounding landscape. On one side rises the long ridge of the Mendips, with its rocky outliers; whilst in the southern distance the lofty peak of Glastonbury Tor

\* Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, p. 867.



*Brown's gate*, at the end of Sadler-street. From this point an excellent view of the west front is obtained, rising at the end of a broad lawn of greensward, bordered with trees. [Frontispiece.] The cathedral close of Wells is scarcely so picturesque as those of Salisbury or Exeter. It is more open, however, and its short, grassy turf contrasts very effectively with the grey stone of the buildings which encircle it, and with the green of the church itself. This, with the exception of its piers of Purbeck, is built throughout with stone from the local quarries, about nine miles from Wells. The quarries, which are still worked, are in the inferior oolite, and the stone differs but little from that of the Bath quarries, which are in the great oolite. The quarry which is said to have supplied the stone for the Wells and Glastonbury is called 'St. Andrew's.'

IV. The cathedral of Wells suffered considerably at the time of the Reformation, but does not seem to have been much damaged during the civil war, although the troops of Prince Rupert were more than once quartered in the town. It did not escape so well, however, from the troubles of Monmouth's rebellion, and it is then probably that many of the statues on the west front were destroyed and defaced. On their way to Bridgewater, after the retreat from Philip's N., "the rebels proceeded to Wells, and arrived there in no amiable temper. They were, with few exceptions, hostile to the prelacy, and they shewed their hostility in a way little to their honour. They not only took the lead from the roof of the magnificent cathedral to

lifts itself above the marshes, marking the site of what was generally believed, throughout the Middle Ages, to have been the earliest Christian church in Britain, if not the first in Christendom<sup>b</sup>. The cathedral itself seems to nestle under its protecting hills; and the waters of the bishop's moat, sparkling in the sunshine, indicate the spring or 'great well' which led King Ina to establish his church here, and which had perhaps rendered the site a sacred one as well in the days of the Druids as in those of that primitive British Christianity which disappeared before the heathendom of the advancing Saxons.

The best nearer views of the cathedral are gained from an eminence on the Shepton-Mallett road, about a quarter of a mile from the city [Plate I.], and from the terrace in the garden of the palace. The former is very striking, and should not be missed.

III. From whichever direction the visitor enters the Close, he must pass under one of the three gatehouses built by Bishop BECKINGTON (1443—1464), all of which display his shield of arms<sup>c</sup>, and his rebus, a *beacon* enflamed, issuing from a *tun* or barrel. Over the *Chain gate* passes the gallery which connects the Vicar's College with the cathedral. The gate called the '*Penniless Porch*' opens to the Market-place; but the cathedral will be best approached for the first time through

<sup>b</sup> See Part II., note a.

<sup>c</sup> On a fesse, a mitre with labels expanded, between three bucks' heads caboshed in chief, and as many pheons in base.

in England, although its "*vera et spirantia signa*" now tell their tale but imperfectly.

VI. The breadth of the western front of Wells (147 feet) is considerably greater than that of the fronts of either Notre Dame (136 feet) or of Amiens (116 feet), both of them contemporary buildings. This unusual breadth may have been designed with reference to the arrangement of the statues, which differs altogether from that on the west fronts of the French cathedrals, although the subjects are of the same character. The excellent stone which the neighbourhood of Wells affords—easily worked and hardening on exposure to the air—will account to some extent for the profusion and fine style of the sculptures throughout the cathedral.

Notwithstanding the marked difference in architectural character between the west front and the interior of the nave, it is sufficiently clear that both were included in the original design. The whole of the foundations were laid at the same time; and the lower courses of stone, including the basement mouldings, are continuous, without any break, to the height of about ten feet from the ground. Above that height there is a change, and it is doubtful whether the west front was proceeded with before the aisle walls, or otherwise. The appearance of the work and of the mouldings, however, seems to indicate that the west front was first completed.

In both style of work and in actual date, the west front of Wells is intermediate between the west fronts of Lincoln (the work of Bishop Hugh Wallis, 1209—

1235), and of Salisbury (completed in 1258). It is throughout of decidedly Early English character; and differs in the most marked manner from the nave (see § XII.) Hence Professor Willis<sup>s</sup> has suggested that it was not commenced until after the death of Bishop Jocelyn. The evidence of the lower courses of stone, however, (an observation for which we are indebted to Mr. J. H. Parker,) proves that all the foundations were laid at once, although the west front itself may very possibly have been erected by a different body of workmen from those—in all probability belonging to a local school—who built the nave and aisles.

The front consists of a centre [Plate III.], in which are the three lancets of the western window, and above them a gable receding in stages, with small pinnacles at the angles; and of two wings or western towers, projecting beyond the nave, as at Salisbury. The upper part of these towers is of Perpendicular character. That to the north-west was completed by Bishop BUBWITH (1407—1424), whose statue remains in one of the niches: that to the south-west was the work of Bishop HAREWELL (1366—1386). Both these towers, fine as are their details, have a somewhat truncated appearance; and it is probable that the original Early English design terminated at the uppermost band of sculpture. The three western doors are of unusually small dimensions, perhaps in order to leave ample room for the tiers of figures which rise above them. Six narrow buttresses,

<sup>s</sup> See the report of his lecture in the Bristol volume of the Archæological Institute.

at the angles of which are slender shafts of marble, supporting canopies, divide the entire front into five portions. The whole of the statues which fill the niches are of Douling stone.

VII. The identification of the "populus star" which throng the front of the cathedral is still uncertain, notwithstanding the great labour which has been so lovingly bestowed on the subject by Mr. Merrell<sup>h</sup>. Below the central gable six distinct sculptures may be recognised, all of which encircle the north-west tower. The *first*, or lowest, now empty in front, consisted of full-length figures under canopies. The *second* is a series of small quadrifrons which are angels variously arranged. The *third* contains a series of subjects from the Old and New Testaments. The *fourth* and *fifth* tiers are of full-length statues; and the *sixth* exhibits the final resurrection, a series of small figures of most remarkable execution and design. The three stages of the *central gable* statues representing the celestial hierarchy, the apostles, and above all, the Saviour in Majesty; the feet of this last figure remain.

In the tympanum within the porch is the Virgin seated on a throne, treading on a serpent, and nursing the Divine Infant. This group displays remarkable colour. The ground, according to Mr. Cocke, was originally painted in ultramarine, the moulding in gold and red. In a niche above this porch is a copy of the Virgin; the heads of the figures have, however,

<sup>h</sup> Iconography of Wells Cathedral.

been destroyed. An especial reverence for the blessed Virgin was encouraged in the Church of Wells by Bishop Jocelyn<sup>1</sup>.

The number of figures on the entire west front is upwards of 300, of which 152 are either life-size or colossal. Of the larger figures twenty-one are crowned kings, eight crowned queens, thirty-one mitred ecclesiastics, seven armed knights, and fourteen princes or nobles in costumes of the first half of the thirteenth century. It is not impossible that colour may have been formerly applied to these statues (as to the small figures within the porch), and they may, perhaps, have been identified by labels with inscriptions. It may, however, be said at once that "amongst all the statues on the historical tier not one can now be identified, and but one (Edward the Martyr) with any probability guessed at." This is the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Planché after due examination, and asserted by him in a very able paper read at the Congress of the British Archæological Association in 1857. It is one in which every unprejudiced archæologist will agree, although it is impossible to deny the merits of research and ingenuity to Mr. Cockerell's learned "Iconography," in which a name is given to every statue.

His general description is as follows:—"In the first tier, nearest the earth, are the personages of the first

<sup>1</sup> "Hic (Jocelinus) primo anno consecrationis sue, servitium B. Mariæ in ecclesiâ Wellensi fecit cotidie decantari."—*Canon Wellen. ap. Wharton, Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 564.

and second Christian missions to this country, as Paul, Joseph of Arimathea, and St. Augustine and followers. In the second, the angels chanting *Gloria in excelsis*, and holding crowns, spiritual and temporal rewards of those predication. In the third, to the south, subjects of the Old Testament; to the north, the New; compositions of the highest merit and interest. In the fourth and fifth, an historical series of the local spiritual and temporal, saints and martyrs, under which the Church has flourished in this country: as King Ina, founder of the conventual church of Wells; Edward the Elder, founder of the episcopal church; the Saxon, Danish, Norman, and Plantagenet dynasties, individually and most significantly represented. Together with these are the founders of those dynasties, remarkable daughters and allies by marriage of royal families of England, with the leading characters and lords of the Church—as Archbishop Brithelm, St. Dunstan, Bishops Asser, Grimbold, the Earl of Mercia—surrounding Alfred, &c.; they form a complete illustration of William of Malmesbury and other early historians of our country, ‘a calendar for the learned men’ as well as for unlearned artists, for many of them are as beautiful as they are historically interesting.” To this nomenclature, however, Mr. Planché applied the test of costume with fatal effect, and it is quite clear that the identification of the statues is not out of the question. But the grace and vigour of many of the figures are to be recognised and duly admired, and of the lesser tiers a better account can be given.

I. The *third* tier of sculpture contains medallions of subjects from the Old and New Testaments; the south of the central porch, the New on the

Both series commence from the porch, and are ended by the niche containing the coronation of the Virgin, already described. Proceeding from this, on the *south side*, the subjects still remaining are—

Creation of Man. The Creation of Woman. The Fall of Eden. The Temptation. The Almighty in the Clouds. Adam and Eve at Labour. Cain's Sacrifice. The Flood. Noah Building the Ark. The Ark itself. The Ark on Ararat. Isaac and Rebecca. Isaac's Blessing. The Death of Jacob.

On the *north side* the remaining subjects are—

John the Baptist. The Nativity. Christ among the Doctors. St. John in the Wilderness. Mission of the Apostles. Christ in the Wilderness. Christ Preaching. The Transfiguration. — (Proceeding round the porch on the north side): The Mount of Olives. The Calling of St. Peter. The Entry into Jerusalem. The Consultation with the High Priest. The Last Supper. Christ before Pilate. The Bearing of the Cross. Elevation of the Cross. Descent from the Cross. The Resurrection. The Gift of Tongues.

On the direct west front there are eighteen medallions, on the other side of the coronation of the Virgin; only seven of which now contain sculpture. Similar medallions occur at Amiens, Rheims, Notre Dame at Paris, and Strasbourg; all nearly contemporary. They have been duly noticed by Mr. Cockerell. A very high number of works of art was attached to the sculptures at

Wells by Flaxman, who selected the death of Jacob, the figure of St. John, and the creation of Eve for the beauty of their composition, and made from them careful drawings, which he exhibited at the Royal Academy. "The work," he says, "is necessarily ill-drawn and deficient in principle, and much of the sculpture is rude and severe; yet in parts there is a beautiful simplicity, an irresistible sentiment, and sometimes a grace excelling more modern productions."

IX. The *sixth* tier of sculpture contains ninety-two compositions of the Resurrection. "Startling in significance, pathos, and expression," says Mr. Cockerell, "worthy of John of Pisa, or of a greater man, John Flaxman." This is perhaps the earliest existing representation of the subject in sculpture, and by no means the worst. None of the usual mediæval types of evil spirits, serpents, or monsters, occur in it. "The distinction given to the sexes and professions, the tombstones which they heave up, and their appropriate attitudes, are the only materials which the sculptor has called into use for the carrying out of his difficult task <sup>k</sup>." In this respect the sculptures by Nicola Pisano at Orvieto, those at Amiens and elsewhere, are far less satisfactory. The whole of this series will repay the artist's most careful examination.

The figures of angels in the first stage of the central gable no doubt represent the nine orders of the celestial hierarchy first set forth in the work of the pseudo-Dionysius (the Areopagite), and speedily adopted

<sup>k</sup> Cockerell.

throughout Latin Christendom: seraphim, cherubim, thrones, dominations, virtues, powers, principalities, archangels, angels. In the stage above are figures of the apostles, St. Andrew and St. John occupying the two central niches, immediately under the feet of the Saviour: and in the uppermost stage was the Saviour in majesty, supported on either side by the Virgin and St. John. The circles of the sun and moon, attended by smaller stars, occupy the spandrels above the central niche. (See Plate III.)

The west front of Wells was no doubt in progress during the lifetime of Nicola Pisano (1200—1275). It can no longer be read in detail, as at its first completion; but it still remains one of the most interesting and impressive church fronts either in England or on the Continent. We may at all events accept one suggestion of Mr. Cockerell's, and regard it as in effect illustrating the great Ambrosian hymn. "The glorious company of the apostles," "the goodly fellowship of the prophets," and the "noble army of martyrs" keep their solemn watch at the entrance of the sanctuary. The figures of the celestial host proclaim "To Thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein." The crowned kings, the churchmen, and the warriors represent the "holy Church throughout all the world;" whilst the spirit of the entire work asserts that Church's ceaseless adoration, "Day by day we magnify Thee, and we worship Thy name, ever world without end."

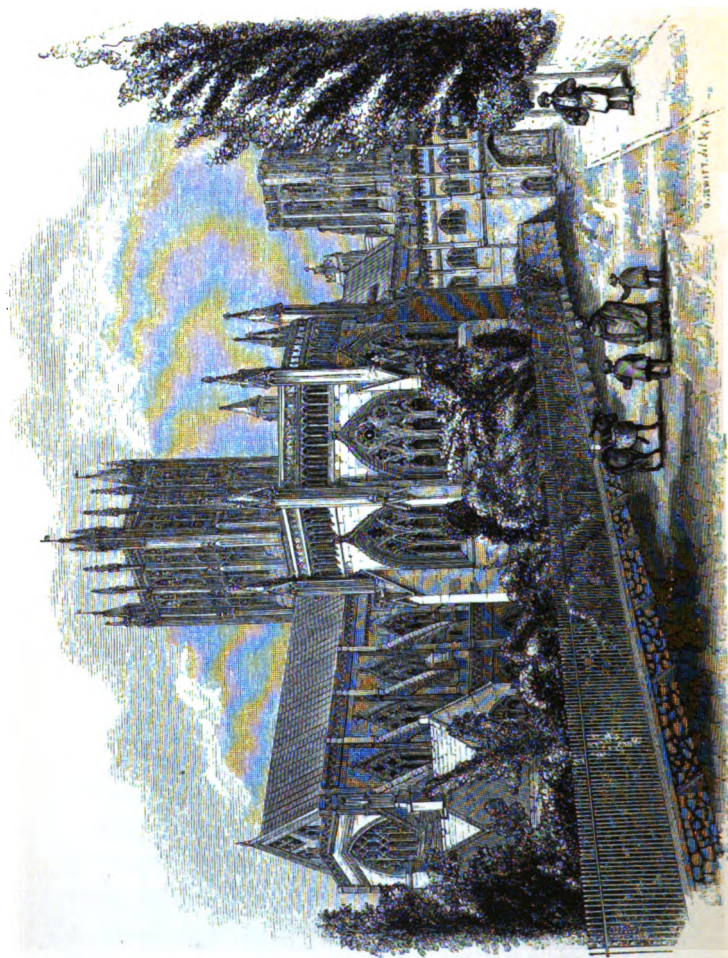
X. Passing round the north-west angle of the building, the visitor should now inspect the *north porch*

[Title-page], the architectural character of which differs from that of the west front, although it belongs to the Early English period. It was apparently the work of that local company of artists (see p. 10) by whom, according to Professor Willis, the nave was built. The entrance is deeply recessed, and the zigzag ornament among its mouldings, a strong indication, if not of its early construction, at least of lingering Norman traditions among its builders. The mouldings deserve the most careful attention. The outer, or dripstone, is formed of a very beautiful imitation of Early English foliage. Square panels on each side of the arch contain figures of mystic animals, one of which is a cockatrice. The gable above the porch arcade, in the centre of which a small tripartite window leads to a parvise chamber. From the buttresses at the angles rise slender spire-capped pinnacles. The buttresses themselves are flat and narrow.

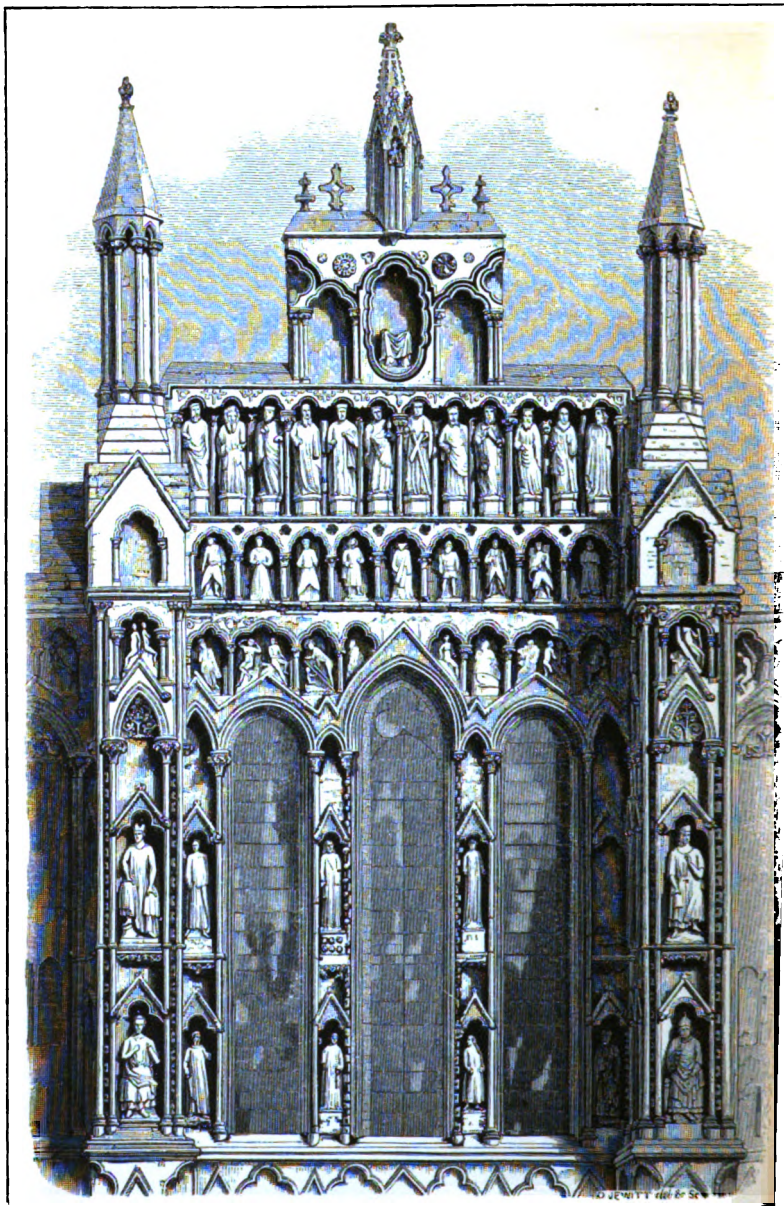
The interior of the porch is divided into two bays, and its walls are lined with a double arcade, the upper row of arches being more deeply recessed than the lower. The vault springs from a central group of four shafts. The sculptures of the capitals on the north side possibly represent the death of King Edward the Martyr (A.D. 870),—bound to a tree as a martyr, pierced by Danish arrows, and afterwards beheaded. The figures are well designed, and full of life and character. A double doorway leading into the nave displays the Norman zigzag.

XI. The walls of both nave and aisles are

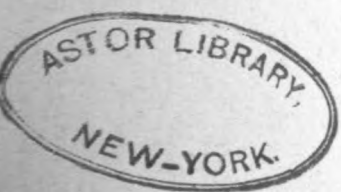








CENTRAL PORTION OF WEST FRONT.





NAVE, FROM THE WEST.

a parapet of Decorated character. The picturesque grouping of the transept, the chapter-house with its staircase, and the Chain-gate with the gallery above it, leading to the Vicar's college, should here be especially noticed. A few steps beyond this gate a good view is obtained of the chapter-house, and of the eastern portions of the cathedral. [Plate II.] On the west buttress of the north transept is the face of the *clock* (see § XX.), with the motto "Ne quid pereat." Two figures in armour of the fifteenth century strike the quarters with their battle-axes.

XII. We now pass into the *nave*. [Plate IV.] By whichever door the visitor enters, he should immediately take his place at the extreme western end, from which point an excellent general view is obtained. The restoration of the nave, transepts, and Lady-chapel was begun in 1842, under the direction of Mr. Ferrey; who removed the thick coats of whitewash from the sculptures, repaired their fractures, and banished to the cloisters the long rows of marble tablets which disfigured the aisles.

The inverted tower-arches, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, when it was found necessary to provide additional support for the superstructure, at once attract the attention. Designedly or not, they form a St. Andrew's cross, the especial emblem of the cathedral; but it may fairly be doubted whether the inverted lines do not detract considerably from the general effect. The view into the choir is intercepted by these arches and by the organ. Portions of the roof

are, however, caught, together with the rich light of the stained eastern window; and the nave-piers with clustered columns and enriched capitals, the deep shadows of the triforium, its grotesque carvings, and groups of bearing-shafts, with the vault which sustains, produce an impression of richness and variety which is by no means lessened when the different details come to be examined in detail. The nave is although somewhat narrow (38 feet wide between columns, 82 feet from wall to wall, including the aisles) is generally well proportioned. The length, from the west door to the choir, is 192 feet, the height 67 feet.

The nave of Wells, commenced by Bishop Jocelin (1204—1242), and built throughout during the twelfth and thirteenth English periods, offers some very remarkable peculiarities. "By many this structure would be designated as an Early English cathedral; but if our Early English cathedrals, such as Lincoln, Ely, and Salisbury, are examined carefully, there will appear a resemblance between them, shewing that they resulted from one school of art and from one school of masons, who worked together and understood only one system. They are not only design in one style as to the capitals, and the mode in which the mouldings fell on them, and the proportions, but, in short, the entire disposition of details, and the general proportions of the place. If a person well acquainted with these examples visits Wells Cathedral, he will at once see that the work was wholly done by a different class of builders. Wells Cathedral certainly must have been commenced five or ten years after Lincoln, and

was begun at the latter end of the twelfth century. Wells evidently is only a little removed from the Norman style; it is only an improved Norman design, worked with considerable ornament: the mouldings in particular are of an especial richness. The Early English style of architecture originally (in all probability) came from the French, and there must have been in this district a school of masons who continued working with their own companions, in their own style, long after the Early English style was introduced and practised in this country. . . . This is a very curious fact in the history of mediæval architecture, inasmuch as it disturbs the notion which many entertain, that changes in style were simultaneous. It is by no means unnatural that, in a district abounding with stone, a style peculiar to the locality should spring up amongst masons who were always at work together. Thus a Continental origin or influence may be traced in the works of different cathedrals, but the features here noticed appear to have originated from a totally different cause, and probably from the local advantage, the district affording good stone in profusion<sup>1</sup>."

The whole of the nave is of this character, and a great regularity is retained throughout it, but a careful examination will shew two very distinct periods in the masonry and details. The heads of a king and bishop, which project on the south side, between the fourth and fifth piers (counting from the west), mark the point of

<sup>1</sup> Willis, in *Trans. of the Archæol. Instit.*: Bristol volume. See, however, Part III.

change. Eastward of these heads, the masonry of the piers and walls, and of the aisle walls, is of small courses of stone; westward in larger courses. Eastward, small human heads project at the angles of the pier-arches; westward there are none. Eastward the tympana of the triforium arcade are filled with carvings of grotesque animals, and there are small heads at the angles; westward the tympana are filled with human heads, and the heads are considerably larger. The medallions above the triforium are sunk into the wall eastward; westward they are flush. There is also a considerable difference between the capitals of the shafts supporting the piers, which are richer and of more architectural character in the three westerly bays. A further indication of the work, *within* the triforium gallery on the south side, shews a third, or central division, not evident at the back of the gallery, though it is not visible in front. These differences seem to prove that the work was begun at both ends, as was usual in the twelfth century, and that the central division is the latest. All may be accepted as the work of Bishop Jocelyn.

XIII. The nave, as far as the piers of the west tower, consists of ten bays, divided by octangular piers with clustered shafts in groups of three. The piers are enriched with Early English foliage, much of which is of unusually classical character,—one of the earliest indications of a lingering local school, with its own traditions. Birds, animals, and monsters of various forms—among which is the bird with a man's head, said to feed on human flesh—twine and perch

the foliage. Above the pier-arches runs the triforium, very deeply set, and extending backward over the whole of the side-aisles. The roof retains its original position. (The whole arrangement should be compared with the Norman triforia of Norwich and Ely, both of which extend over the side-aisles; but their exterior walls have been raised, and Perpendicular windows inserted.) The narrow lancet openings toward the nave are arranged in groups of three, with thick wall-plates between them. The head of each lancet is filled with a solid tympanum, displaying foliage and grotesques, of which those toward the upper end of the south side are especially curious. At the angles of the lancets are bosses of foliage and human heads, full of character. In the upper spaces between each arch are medallions with leafage. Triple shafts, with enriched capitals, form the vaulting-shafts, the corbels supporting which deserve examination. A clerestory window (the tracery is Perpendicular, and was inserted by Bishop Beckington, 1443—1464) opens between each bay of the vaulting, which is groined, with moulded ribs, and bosses of foliage at the intersections. The interlacing pattern in red, which has been traced on the vaulting with very good effect, is in fact a restoration, portions of the original design having been discovered on the removal of the whitewash.

XIV. The two large heads, representing a king and bishop, with smaller figures on their shoulders, which project on the south side, and perhaps served as supporting brackets for a small organ, may possibly repre-

sent Henry III. and Bishop Jocelyn<sup>m</sup>. This, however, is uncertain, and various traditions have been connected with them. "There remayne yet," (*temp.* Elizabeth,) wrote Harrington, a native of Somersetshire, and well acquainted with the cathedral, "in the bodie of Wells church, about thirty foote high, two eminent images of stone, set there, as is thought, by Bishop Burnell, that built the great hall there in the reign of Edward I., but most certainly long before the reign of Henry VIII. One of these images is of a king crowned, the other is of a bishop mitred. This king, in all proportions resembling Henry VIII., holdeth in his hand a child falling; the bishop hath a woman and children about him. Now the old men of Wells had a tradition, that when there should be such a king and such a bishop, then the church should be in danger of ruin. This falling child, they said, was King Edward. The fruitful bishop, they affirmed, was Dr. Barlow, the first married bishop of Wells, and perhaps of England. This talk being rife in Wells in Queen Mary's time, made him rather affect Chichester at his return than Wells," (see Part II.,

<sup>m</sup> It has been conjectured, and with great probability, that the heads of a king and bishop, which are so frequently placed in opposition to each other,—as in the corbels terminating the hood-mouldings of porches and windows, and in other situations,—typify the "Law" and the "Gospel." The king is David, the bishop represents the Christian priesthood. The south-east entrance to the cloisters at Norwich, and the chapter-house doorway at Rochester, in both of which examples this contrast is certainly intended, and is developed by full-length figures, may be compared.

Barlow); "where not only the things that were  
d, but those that remained, served for records and  
nhrances of his sacrilege".

7. In the central bay, on the south side of the  
level with the clerestory, is the *music gallery*, of  
Perpendicular character, the front of which is  
ed into three panels, with large quatrefoils con-  
g shields. It may be compared with the much  
r and finer 'minstrels' gallery' at Exeter, and with  
tribune' in the nave of Winchester.

e west end and window are best seen from the  
part of the nave, under the tower-arches. The  
part of the wall is covered with an arcade of five  
s, of which the central arch, wider than the rest,  
reed for the double western door. The window  
is a triplet, divided by triple shafts, springing  
the wall without bases. These shafts have Per-  
cular mouldings, and there is a Perpendicular  
et at the sill of the window, indicating that this  
of the interior was partially rebuilt during the  
nth century, although the original design was  
ltered. The trefoil headings of the lancets have  
well decorated in polychrome. A gallery, level  
that of the triforium, passes through the splays  
e window, and commands a fine view of the cathe-  
eastward. It is accessible through the triforium,  
the tower staircase.

e *glass* in this window was principally collected on  
ontinent by Dean Creyghton (afterwards Bishop,

° Nuge Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 148.

1670—1672). It illustrates the life (legendary as well as authentic) of St. John the Baptist, and was brought partly from Rouen and partly from Cologne. All this glass is of Cinque Cento character, the date 1507 being traceable on one of the lights. The figures of King Ina and of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury are Perpendicular, and possibly formed part of the glazing toward which Bishop Harewell, about 1385, gave 100 marks.

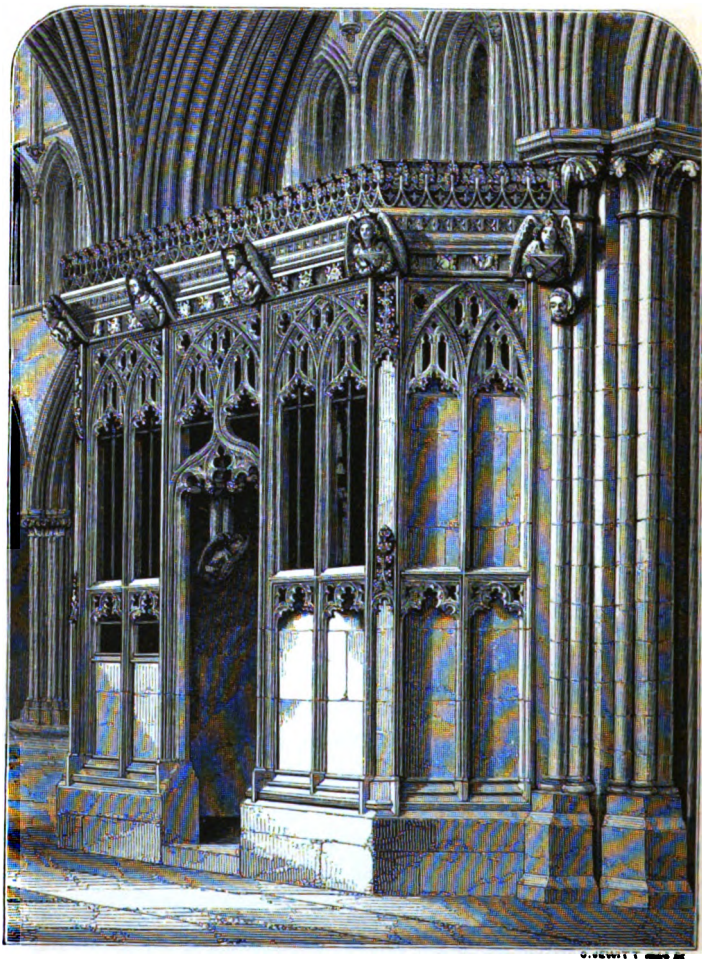
XVI. The *side aisles* are precisely of the same architectural character as the nave itself, and the same two periods may be traced in them. The difference of masonry is distinctly visible in the wall of the south aisle. The windows of these aisles, as well as those of the clerestory, were filled with Perpendicular tracery by Bishop Beckington.

Opening from the aisles are chapels in the two western towers, both true Early English, with the same ringed shafts as appear on the exterior. The south-west tower contains a peal of eight bells, and a doorway opens from it into the west walk of the cloisters. In the north-west tower is the chapel of the Holy Cross, now used as the Consistory Court.

XVII. A plain blue slab, near the centre of the nave, was formerly pointed out as 'King Ina's grave\*.' This was removed during the late restorations. The two beautiful chantries between the second and third piers (counting from the east) are those of Bishop Bubwith and Dean Sugar. The screen-work and cornices of

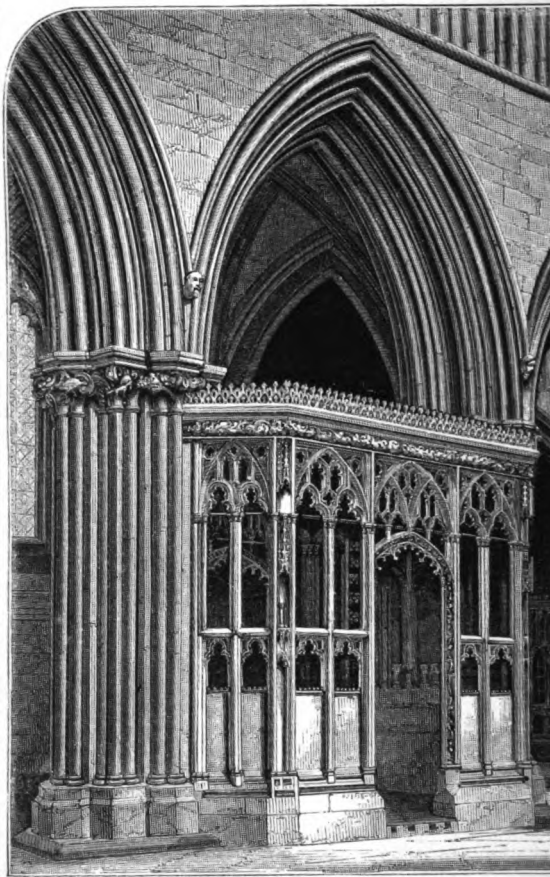
\* Ina died, and was no doubt buried, circ. 730, at Rome, where he had assumed the monastic habit.





BISHOP BUBWITH'S CHANTRY.





DEAN SUGAR'S CHANTRY.

BUBWITH'S chantry (died 1424), on the north side, is of extreme grace and delicacy. [Plate V.] The canopyed niches at the east end, over the altar, dedicated to the Holy Cross, contained figures of the founder's patron saints. The arms of the bishop, a fess wavy between three groups of conjoined holly-leaves, appear on different parts of the chantry, all the details of which are well worth examination. In the wall on the south side, and partly covered by the chantry, is a slab from which the brasses have been removed, covering the grave of Bishop HASELSHAWE (died 1308). The figure of the bishop (ten feet) was of unusual length.

The chantry of HUGH SUGAR (died 1489), Dean of Exeter, and one of Bishop Beckington's executors, although of the same general character as Bishop Bubwith's, exhibits many indications of a later style. [Plate VI.] The fan-tracery of the roof, and the canopyed niches above the altar, dedicated to St. Edward, deserve notice. On the cornice are angels (compare those on Bishop Beckington's chantry) bearing shields with the five sacred wounds, the cypher of the founder, his arms, three sugar-loaves surmounted by the founder's cap, and the arms of Glastonbury Abbey. The three chantries may be compared in succession: Bishop Bubwith's (died 1424); what remains of Bishop Beckington's (died 1464), in the eastern aisle of the north transept; and Dean Sugar's (died 1489): they illustrate the gradual change and deterioration of architecture during the fifteenth century).

On the north side of Sugar's chantry is the grave-slab, robbed of its brasses, of Bishop ERGHUM (died 1400). The three executors of Bishop Beckington—Richard Swann, prior of Wells, Dean Sugar, and John Pope—were interred together close beside Sugar's chantry<sup>p</sup>.

The *stone pulpit*, adjoining the chantry [see Plate IV.], was the work of Bishop KNIGHT (1541—1547), who is buried near it. On the front is his shield of arms. The inscription surrounding it runs, "Preache thou the worde; be fervent in season and out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, in all long-soffryng and doctrine. II Tim."

A slab in the pavement, near the entrance to the choir, is the only remaining memorial of Bishop BURNELL (died 1292: see Part II.)

XVIII. From the nave we pass into the *south transept*. Both transepts belong to the Early English period, though whether they are of precisely the same time as either part of the nave may be doubtful. Both have eastern and western aisles, with three windows at the north and south ends, and a triplet in the place of the clerestory. In each the triforium is arranged in groups of two openings, and has none of the rich ornamentation which it displays in the nave. The

<sup>p</sup> "Jacent isti simul tumulati (sicuti a senioribus audivi) in medio navis Ecclesiæ, e regione pulpiti, ubi tres videmus lapides marmoreos sibi mutuo tam similes quam ovum ovo."—*Godwin, de Præsulibus Angliæ*. These slabs have been removed, but a modern inscription marks their former place.

ing-shafts spring from corbels between each two  
 piers.

The capitals of the piers in both transepts are sculptured  
 with great richness and variety, but those in the  
 south transept are especially curious and interesting.

The first pier of the western aisle remark the small  
 capital of Elias, (Moses, with the tablets of the law, is  
 placed in the opposite transept). On the  
 pier is a figure extracting a thorn from the foot,  
 and with the toothache, and other grotesque heads.

The third pier tells a story at length. Beginning at  
 the side nearest the south window we have, 1. two  
 thieves stealing grapes from a vineyard; 2. the discovery  
 of the theft by the vinedressers, one of whom carries  
 a pitchfork; 3. one of the thieves is  
 caught, and threatened with the pitchfork; and 4. the  
 thief is caught behind the ear with the hook. The  
 design and expression of all these sculptures is admirable.

The capitals of the piers in the eastern aisle are of  
 a later date than those opposite, and belong to the  
 geometrical period. The foliage is no longer con-  
 foliate, and there are no grotesques intermixed with  
 the eastern aisles of both transepts are possibly  
 of the early part of the fourteenth century.

The east aisle of the south transept is divided into  
 chapels, with Decorated windows. The chapel of  
 St. Hilixtus, nearest the choir, contains the monument,  
 and effigy, of Dean HUSE (died 1305). The eight  
 piers in front of the tomb display alternately shields  
 and sculptured figures, the latter representing the An-

nunciation and the eternal Father holding the crucifix. Between are three figures of ecclesiastics with books. The screen and canopy above are Perpendicular, and were probably erected at the same time as the canopy over the tomb of Chancellor Storthwhit in the adjoining chapel.

Against the east end of this chapel is placed a portion of the chantry of Bishop BECKINGTON (died 1464), removed from the choir-aisle. (See § XXVI.) It has been richly coloured. At the pendants of the very elaborate canopy are angels bearing shields with the five sacred wounds. The vine-carving of the cornice should be remarked, as well as the iron-work which formed part of the original chantry, and now divides this chapel from the choir-aisle.

In the southern chapel, called *St. Martin's*, and now used as the canons' vestry, is the tomb, with effigy, of JOHN STORTHWHIT, Chancellor of Wells (died 1454). The canopy is much enriched. At the back are traces of a door which opened to the monumental chapel of Bishop STILLINGTON (see Part II.), destroyed soon after its erection.

Against the south wall of the transept are the monuments of JOANNA, VICECOMITISSA DE LISLE—(died 1464), an arched canopy, with remains of rich painting. The patterns deserve examination. This monument, which had been plastered over, was discovered in 1809, and the inscription restored. Lady Lisle was the daughter of Thomas Cheddar. Her husband was the son of John Talbot, the celebrated Earl of Shrewsbury, under whom

he served in France, and was killed at the battle of Chastillon, 1453;—and of Bishop WILLIAM DE LA MARCHIA (died 1302. See Part II.) The effigy lies in a recess below the central window, enclosed in front by a screen of three open arches with rich canopies. A row of small heads projects from the slab on which the effigy is laid, and on the wall at the back of the recess are the headless figure of a priest, and those of two angels carrying broken harps. At either end are heads, probably intended for those of the Saviour and the Virgin. The canopy of this tomb has been richly coloured.

The *font* placed in this transept is of late Norman character, but has little interest. A door in the south-west angle leads to the cloisters, § XXXVIII.; a smaller one to the chapter library, § XXXVII.; and one in the south-east angle to the central tower, § XXXVI.

XIX. The *north transept*, as has already been indicated, is of precisely the same architectural character as the south. All the sculptures—the capitals of the piers and the corbels of the vaulting-shafts—should be noticed. On the *capitals* remark the figure of Moses and that of Anna the Prophetess (?). Of the *corbels*, remark the graceful forms of those on the eastern side, compared with the more grotesque carvings west. The twisted leaves at the angles, adjoining the inverted arches, should also be noticed.

The western aisle of this transept is closed by a heavy screen of Perpendicular date, and was divided into two chapels. In the eastern aisle (which has Decorated windows, and, like that in the south transept, is pro-

bably altogether of later date) are the tombs of—Bishop STILL, died 1607: the effigy is vested in scarlet;—of Bishop KIDDER, killed in the great storm, 1703, his wife and daughter; and of THOMAS CORNISH, died 1513, “*Tinensis Episcopus*,” titular bishop of Tenos in the Archipelago, and suffragan of Bath and Wells from 1486 to 1513. (See Part II., *Wolsay*.) This is an altar-tomb with canopy; at the head is sculptured the Saviour giving the keys to St. Peter (?). The heads are gone, and the brasses at the back have also disappeared. Adjoining this tomb is a door opening to the chapter-house staircase, § XXXIII.

In the transept stands a large *lectern* of brass, the gift of Dean Creyghton, afterwards bishop. The inscription runs: “Dr. Robert Creyghton, upon his returne from 15 years exile with our soveraigne lord King Charles II., made Deane of Wells in the yeare 1660, gave this brazen deske with God’s holy worde thereon to the saide Cathedrall Church.”

XX. The very curious *clock* in this transept was originally the work of Peter Lightfoot, a monk of Glastonbury, about 1325, and may be compared with that in the cathedral of Exeter, of somewhat later date. Both clocks have, however, been so often renovated, that in all probability little of the original work remains in either. The faces of both shew the hour of the day, the age of the moon, and the position of the planets. Above the dial-plate of the clock at Wells is a platform, on which are four mounted figures, which formerly, as the clock proclaimed the hour, started into

and hurried rapidly round. Their movements were exhibited only for the gratification of visitors, the quarters are still struck by a sitting figure in the north-west angle, which uses its heels for the purpose. According to Mr. Planché, the smaller figures, which move in a sort of tilting-match, are either not made by Lightfoot, or have been much altered since his time. Two, he says, appear intended for kings,—one of them certainly, since he wears a hood and ears attached to it. The third is a nondescript. The fourth, by his dress, a civilian of the reign of Henry or Charles I. The works of this clock are entirely new, but the older machinery, made of iron and brass, may still be seen in the crypt of the chapter-house; § XXXII.

I. The *inverted arches*, supporting the central tower, may be examined before entering the choir. The effect of their inverted lines, as seen from the nave and from the angles of the transepts, is most singular and unusual; but the contrast with the surrounding forms is too sharp to be altogether agreeable. The enormous support and strength afforded by them is, however, evident. The tower itself is of Early English date, as are the roofs. In 1318 the canons voluntarily gave themselves to the extent of a fifth part of their lands in order to raise this tower, which was accordingly carried up three more stages, and completed in 1337. In 1337 and 1338 convocations were called in disarray on account of a settlement in the work of the tower, owing to which extensive fractures or cracks

were in progress, "a disaster not uncommon with mediæval masons; for notwithstanding all that has been said of them, they were unskilful, unsteady persons, who went on packing their building upon mass; and when the edifice began to settle, had recourse to all sorts of means and expedients to hold it and set it on its legs again." This tower "sunk into the earth to a greater degree probably than was common, on account of the pressure on the walls; for it appears, on inspection, that the rents took their origin from the crowns of the arches; the damage proceeded directly from the apex of the arch, and disturbed all the masonry standing upon the arch." To remedy this, the double arches were inserted between the original arches were patched and filled in with blocks of stone, and the adjoining arches of the triforium, as may be seen both in the nave and transept, were blocked up to transmit part of the weight in a lateral direction. After the completion of these repairs it does not appear that any further mischief took place. The fan-tracery of the vault is Perpendicular, and is probably the work of Bishop Beckington.

XXII. The *choir-screen*, of Decorated character, has recently been enlarged in order to support the organ. The entrances to the *choir-aisles*, very beautiful and Decorated, should especially be noticed. The choir was originally built in 1664, under the direction of Henry Creyghton, himself a musician of no common

\* Professor Willis.

\* Id.

the services and anthems are still in use, has been recently rebuilt, enlarged, and improved by Willis. The organ is elaborately diapered, and an inscription from the 8th Psalm runs in transverse bands across them. The instrument itself is a noble one, and has all the latest improvements.

XIII. The first impression on entering the *choir* is not readily be forgotten. Owing to the peculiar and most beautiful arrangements of the Lady-chapel and the retro-choir, to the manner in which the varied forms of arches and pilasters are seen beyond the low screen, to the rich splendours of the stained glass, to the beautiful architectural details of the choir itself, to the grace and finish of the late restorations, it can safely be said that the choir of no English cathedral affords a view more impressive or more picturesque. It is difficult to determine whether the effect is more striking at early morning, when the blaze of many-coloured light from all the eastern windows is reflected upon the slender shafts of Purbeck and upon the vaulted ceiling, or at the late winter services, when the darkened faces of saints and prophets in the clerestory combine with the few lights burning at the choristers' stalls to impart something of mystery and of solemn gloom to the scene of half-seen aisles and chapels.

The choir has been entirely restored under the direction of Mr. Salvin. It was commenced in 1848, and was re-opened for divine service March 14, 1854, at the instigation of Dean Jenkyns, who had been a munificent contributor toward the work. As in the nave, the lime

and coloured washes were carefully removed from the sculptures. The stalls, the pulpit, and the monuments about the altar, are entirely new; the vault has been decorated in polychrome; and there are new windows of stained glass.

The first three piers and arches of the choir are English, of the same character as those of the nave and transepts, and are probably the work of Bishop J. de Beaufort. The remaining portion, including the whole of the vaulting, as well as the tabernacle-work and clerestory above the first three bays, is very rich early Decorated (geometrical), and deserves the most careful study. The entry among the Chapter muniments—from which it appears that in 1325 the canons commenced the rebuilding of new stalls, each canon agreeing to pay for his stall out of his own resources—seems to establish the date for this portion of the choir, which was probably completed in that year.

The tabernacle-work and the window-tracery of the first three bays, although of the same date, are less English than those of the eastern half of the choir. In the latter portion remark the triple-banded shafts of the clerestory, carried quite to the roof as vaulting-shafts, the tabernacle-work occupying the place of the triforium, deeper and wider than in the lower portion. Under each arch is a short triple shaft, supported by a bracket richly carved in foliage. The sculpture of the capitals and of these brackets is very good, and well worth notice. The foliage has become unconventionally stiff and has evidently been studied from nature. It

native character, as compared with the Early English work in the nave, is very striking.

The east end of the choir is formed by three arches, divided by slender piers, above which is some very rich tabernacle-work, surmounted by an east window of unusual design. At the back of the altar, and between the piers, is a low diapered screen, beyond which are seen the arches and stained windows of the retro-choir and Lady-chapel. This screen is part of the new work, and the excellent effect obtained by it—at once revealing and concealing the portions beyond it—should be compared with the coldness of Salisbury, where the whole eastern part of the cathedral is laid open at a glance. The modern encaustic tiles and the brass altar-rail should also be noticed.

XXIV. The *choir stalls* are entirely modern, and are arranged in groups of five within each arch. Their canopies, of Douling stone, are of early Decorated character, and are supported on polished Purbeck shafts. The position of this stall-work, placed in portions between the piers, and not, as in the ancient arrangements, in front of them unbrokenly, is peculiar; but the greater width thus gained for the choir, as well as the display of the piers, otherwise hidden, sufficiently recommend it. That it is to some extent an innovation may be seen by a comparison with Winchester, where the stall-work of the choir (of wood, however,) is nearly of the same date as the choir of Wells, and is placed in front of the piers.

The old *misereres* are replaced in the lower seats.

They are early Decorated, and exhibit the usual grotesques and foliage. The latter especially deserves notice for its sharpness and beauty.

The *pulpit*, carved from a solid block of freestone, was the gift of Dean Jenkyns and his wife in 1853. The heads at the base are worth examination. The *bishop's throne*, surmounted by a canopy in three compartments, was erected by Bishop Beckington about 1450. It has been completely restored.

The *lierne vaulting* of the choir has been decorated in polychrome with excellent effect. The larger bosses are gilt, as are the capitals of the vaulting-shafts, and touches of bright blue, green, and red contrast admirably with the grey tints of the stone-work.

XXV. Of the *stained glass* in the choir, that in the eastern and two adjoining windows is ancient. The two next windows of the clerestory have been filled with modern glass by Bell and Willement. The ancient glass dates from the early part of the fourteenth century (about 1330), and is therefore the original glazing; the choir itself, it has already been seen, was approaching completion in 1325. The east window is of singular design. "The lower lights are filled with a stem of Jesse, terminating, as at Bristol, with our Saviour on the Cross, and the tracery lights with a representation of the Day of Judgment. Magnificent as is its colouring, the general effect of the window, owing to the too crowded character of the composition, is inferior to that of the east window of Bristol. It is impossible to distinguish the small figures in the Judgment clearly

from the floor of the choir; and the insertion of canopies over the figures in the Jesse tends to confuse the design\*." The central figure in the lower line is that of Jesse, the others are not easily distinguished. The first figure in the upper line is unknown. The remaining six are,—Abraham, David,—in the centre the Virgin and Child,—Solomon, Daniel, and Ozias.

The clerestory windows had originally a figure and canopy in each of their lower lights. "One of the figures, in the north window next the east, represents St. George, clad in a surcoat which reaches to the knee. He wears a helmet, avant and rerebras, shin-pieces and sollerets of plate, or rather cuir-boulli; the rest of his person is defended with mail; on his shoulders are aiglettes. The costume of this figure appears to harmonize with the date assigned to the glass. In the tracery-lights of this window is a continuation of the Judgment in the east window†."

The modern window on the *south* side of the choir is by Willement. It contains the figures of St. Honorius, fifth archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 640; St. Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury and archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 970; and St. Benignus, abbot of Glastonbury and archbishop of Armagh(?) A.D. 460. The opposite window is by Bell, and displays St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and St. Athanasius.

XXVI. The *south choir-aisle*, which we now enter

\* C. Winston. "The Painted Glass at Wells," in the Bristol volume of the Archæological Institute.

† Id.

from the transept, is of the same architectural character as the choir, the first three bays being Early English, and the rest Decorated. The tracery of the windows, however, is throughout late Decorated (curvilinear), and perhaps marks them as later insertions. All the windows contain fragments of stained glass, of various dates, but of no very especial interest.

Against the wall of the choir, near the west end of the aisle, is a low coffin-shaped slab of Purbeck, with an incised episcopal effigy. This is thought, and no doubt rightly, to have been the monument of Bishop BURTON II. (died 1274; see Part II.), whose life was one of great sanctity, and whose reputation, after death, as a curer of the toothache, rivalled that of St. Apollonia. His tomb was resorted to from all parts of the diocese. This (with the exception perhaps of two figures of abbots at St. Denys, which may date about 1260) is the most ancient example of an incised slab which has been noticed either in England or on the Continent.

Above is the effigy of Bishop BECKINGTON (died 1464; see Part II.), the great benefactor of Wells. The canopy under which it formerly lay is now in the chapel of St. Calixtus, § XVIII. The chantry which the Bishop had constructed for himself projected into the choir, and was removed during the late restorations. It is much to be regretted that it should have been found necessary to interfere at all with the last resting-place of so distinguished a prelate; and that in this respect Bishop Beckington should have fared no better than Bi-

shop Beauchamp at Salisbury. The monument consists of two stages. On the upper is the effigy of the Bishop; on the lower an emaciated figure in a winding-sheet, the *memento mori* so much in favour at this period. The whole shews remains of colour. On the supports and at the angles are angels with long wings folded back, like those on the canopy. The iron-work inclosing the monument is decorated with small heads, and should be noticed. It was to this chantry that the mayor and corporation of Wells used to repair in solemn procession annually, in order to pray for the repose of the Bishop, who had done so much for them and for their city.

Beyond this tomb is the effigy of Bishop HAREWELL, (died 1386; see Part II.,) sufficiently identified by the two hares at the feet. Bishop HOOPER (died 1727) and Bishop LAKE (died 1626) are also interred in this aisle.

XXVII. In the *Chapel of St. John the Evangelist*, forming the short eastern transept opening from this aisle, is a modern stained-glass window, the gift of the students of the Theological College, and of its Warden, the Rev. Canon Pinder. It contains figures of St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. James, and St. John. Below this window is the plain altar-tomb of Dean GUNTHORPE (died 1475), who built the existing deanery. He gave to his cathedral a silver image of the Virgin, weighing 158 oz.

In the centre of the transept is a very beautiful memorial of the late Dean JENKINS (died 1854). It is a coped monument of Caen stone, with a cross laid upon it, the stem and arms of which terminate in clusters

of lilies. A border of poppy-leaves and seeds encircles the base.

The Decorated piscina, with its canopy, at the end of this transept, should be noticed. At the junction between the transept and the retro-choir is a monument with effigy, said to be that of Bishop BUTTON (1269). It retains traces of colour. Leland's assertion, however, that the effigy of this bishop was removed renders the appropriation of the present monument doubtful<sup>1</sup>.

XXVIII. Against the south wall of *St. Catherine's Chapel*, eastward of the transept, are two effigies of early bishops, both of Early English character (evident from the foliage and details), and ascribed to Bishop BURHWOLD (circ. 1000) and Bishop DUDOC (1059). In the north choir-aisle are three more effigies of very similar character, and to all apparently of the same date. In the crypt of the chapter-house are two more. It is not impossible that under the reign of Jocelyn and his successors, by whom the Early English portions of the cathedral were built, a series of monuments were erected for the earlier bishops. It is, however, events, difficult to account more satisfactorily for the existence of so many effigies of the same date and character<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "Guil. Bitton, primus, jacet cum imagine *ærea* in capite D. Marise ad orientalem partem ecclesiæ de Welles."—*Itin.*

<sup>2</sup> During the late restorations, the remains of Bishop DUDOC (see § XXXI.) and Dudoc were discovered in the wall of the choir-dral, enclosed in stone coffins, bearing inscriptions on lead.

the end of this chapel is a fine sitting figure by  
 REY of John Phelips, Esq., of Montacute. The  
 in the window above it is fragmentary, but very  
 a colour.

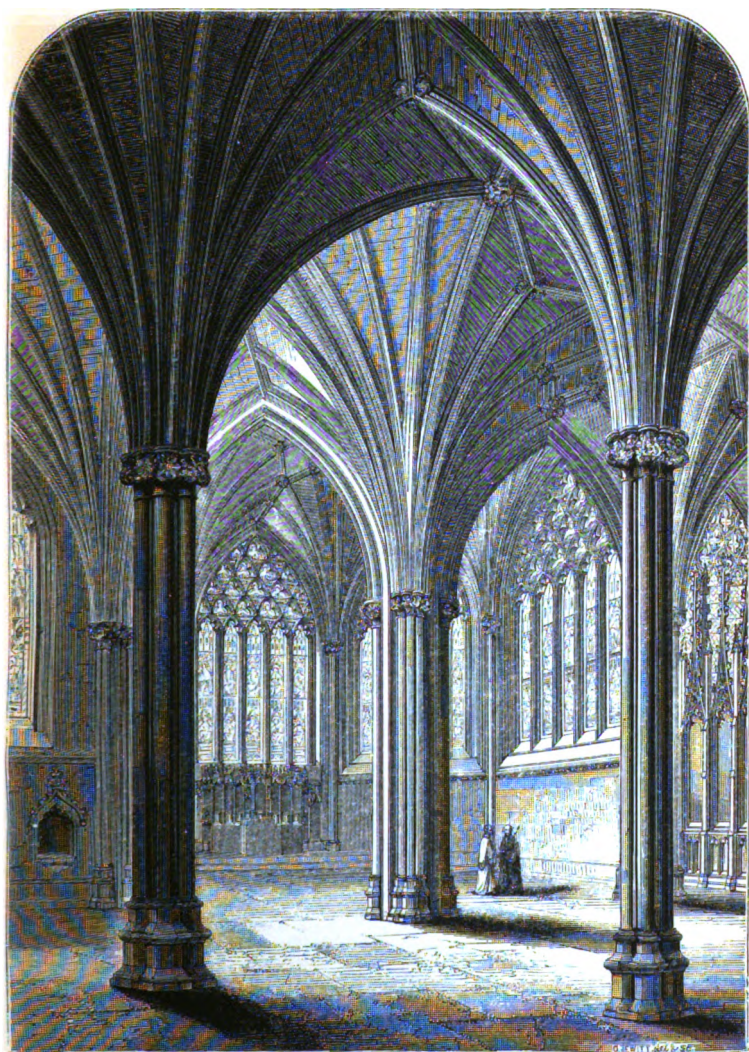
IX. Near the early bishops is the tomb, with a  
 shrine-like canopy, of Bishop BROKENSFORD (died  
 during whose episcopate, in all probability, the  
 and Lady-chapel were completed. The grace and  
 of the canopy are especially noticeable, as well  
 delicate carving of all its details. The eastern  
 has been recently decorated in colour.

beauty of the *retro-choir*, or "procession aisles,"  
 arrangement of its piers and clustered columns, and  
 admirable manner in which it unites the Lady-  
 with the choir, should here be remarked. It  
 throughout early Decorated. The foliage of the  
 and the bosses of the vaulting will repay  
 examination. Many of the vaulting-ribs appear  
 ing from two grotesque heads,—one on either side  
 low choir-screen,—which hold them between their  
 The four supporting pillars and shafts are placed  
 the line of the choir-piers, thus producing the  
 al intricacy and variety of the eastward view  
 the choir. At Salisbury, and in all other English  
 trals, the piers of the procession-aisles are placed  
 ne with those of the choir.

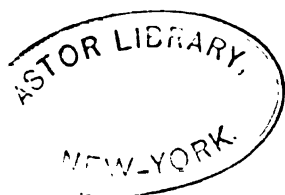
ed them. This is a sufficient proof that the remains of the  
 bishops were carefully preserved whilst the church was re-  
 g by Jocelyn and his successors. Some of the effigies were  
 d to the bishops whose names they now bear, at least as  
 s Godwin's time, the beginning of the seventeenth century.

XXX. The *Lady-chapel* [Plate VII.], "a building of the very best age," and of extreme beauty, forms a pentagonal apse, in each side of which is a large window filled with early Decorated (geometrical) tracery. The Lady-chapel is nearly of the same date as the choir, and was certainly already completed in 1326, when Bishop Drokenford assigns a portion of his own garden to one of the canons, and describes it as "about 200 feet from the east end of St. Mary's Chapel, lately constructed." The rich vaulted roof, springing from triple shafts at the angles, and the reredos, of the same character as the tabernacle-work in the choir, should be noticed. An arcade runs below the windows. The Lady-chapel, like the nave and transepts, was restored by Mr. Ferrey. Gilding and colour have been introduced with great judgment on the roof and on the capitals of the shafts. The pavement is of encaustic tiles.

The *stained glass* with which the windows are filled is of the same date as the ancient glass in the choir. Except the east window, it is a confused mass of fragments, the colouring of which, however, is superb. The east window has been restored by Willement, and "as there can be no doubt that the old design has been adhered to in the restoration, the window in its present state shews at a glance, what the side windows shew only on careful examination, that the lower lights of these windows were filled with two tiers of figures and canopies. The tracery-lights of the east window are filled with angels bearing



THE LADY-CHAPEL.



the instruments of the Passion. The topmost tracery-light of three of the side apsidal-windows contains the emblem of one of the Evangelists; the fourth emblem has evidently been lost; the other lights of the window on the north side next the east, contain heads of patriarchs; and those of the opposite window the heads of ecclesiastical saints. Some of these heads are very favourable specimens of the skill of the glass-painters of the period, and the idea of filling these small openings with busts, instead of entire figures, was happy. The same mode of filling the tracery-lights is adopted in some of the other windows in the immediate vicinity of the Lady-chapel, which retain their original glazing. Amongst the busts are the heads of sainted popes and bishops, the names being written on labels behind."

XXXI. At the extreme end of the *north choir-aisle*, in *St. Stephen's Chapel*, are two effigies, assigned to Bishop SAVARICUS (died 1205) and Bishop AILWIN (circ. 997). The second cannot possibly be of this date, but both effigies are of the same character as those already noticed § XXVIII.

In the small *north-eastern transept* are the tombs of Dean FORREST, with effigy (died 1446); of an unknown ecclesiastic; and of Bishop CREYGTON (died 1672). The last effigy, in white marble, is a fine one. Some fragments of the original tiles remain in the pavement of this transept.

Against the wall of the choir is an effigy, with Early English foliage and details, assigned to Bishop GISO

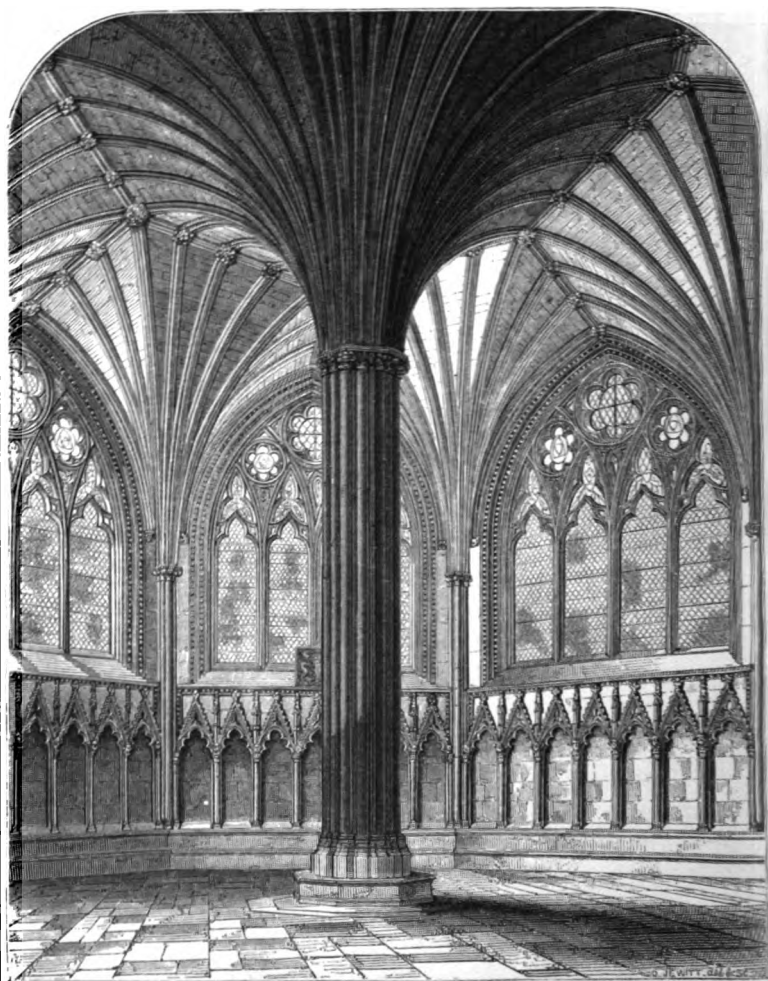
✓ C. Winston, Painted Glass of Wells.

(died 1088). It belongs to the same period as those in the opposite aisle. Below it is the fine effigy of Bishop RALPH OF SHREWSBURY (died 1363). Remark the *infula*, or fillet twisted round the staff of the crozier, and the large jewelled ornaments at the back of the gloves.

XXXII. A low door on the north side of this aisle opens to a vaulted passage leading to the *crypt* of the chapter-house. The passage is lighted by three small windows. A stone lanthorn in the wall, on the right near the door of the crypt itself, should be noticed. This door, which opens inward, is covered with fine old iron-work.

The crypt seems to have been completed about the year 1286, when a chapter was called in order to consider the necessity of completing "the new structure which had been a long time begun." This "new structure" can have been only the chapter-house, the lower part, or crypt, of which is of very much earlier date than the upper. Like the chapter-house itself, the crypt is octangular; and an octangular pier surrounded by circular shafts rises in the centre. The vaulting-ribs which spring from these shafts rest again on eight round pillars, about six feet high, and placed at no great distance from the central pier. A second series of arched vaultings is carried from the pillars to brackets between the narrow windows, twelve in number. Close within the door is a curious piscina, in the hollow of which is sculptured a dog gnawing a bone.





THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

Unlike other crypts, this building is on a level with the floor of the church; and in it was a great sink, by which all the water employed for washing the cathedral was formerly carried off. It possibly also contained a well.

In the crypt are now preserved two effigies of early bishops, both of Early English character, and resembling those already noticed. Here are also an ancient cope chest; a wooden lanthorn, said to have been brought from Glastonbury; and the old works of the Glastonbury clock, the face and figures belonging to which still do their duty in the north transept.

XXXIII. From the east aisle of the north transept a door opens to the fine staircase which ascends to the *chapter-house*. It is lighted by two geometrical windows, west. The corbels supporting the first vaulting-shafts on either side, representing a monk and a nun trampling on serpents, should be noticed. The staircase is not unworthy of the magnificent chapter-house to which it leads, the finest example of its date in England. It is generally assigned to the episcopate of William de la Marchia (1293—1302), and is, at all events, nearly of this date, being throughout early Decorated (geometrical).

Like the crypt below, the chapter-house is octagonal, and has a central pier with sixteen shafts, from which the ribs of the vaulting radiate. [Plate VIII.] Other radiating ribs spring from grouped shafts at the angles between the windows. These are eight in number, filled with very fine geometrical tracery, and sur-

rounded by hollow mouldings enriched with the ball-flower, or "hawk's-bell," a characteristic ornament of the early Decorated period. Some fragments of stained glass remain, among which are the arms of Mortimer, and of France and England, quarterly. Below the windows an arcade runs round the walls, with Purbeck shafts and enriched canopies. At the springs of the arches are sculptured heads full of expression, kings, bishops, monks, ladies, jesters; and at the angles, grotesques of various kinds. A line of the ball-flower ornament is carried round above the canopies.

The double arches at the entrance shew traces of a door on the exterior. The inner arch was apparently always open. Remark the curious boss in the vaulting, composed of four bearded faces. The diameter of the chapter-house is fifty feet, its height forty-one feet. Its unusual, and indeed unique, features are—its separation from the cloisters, from which the chapter-house generally opens; and its crypt or lower story, which rendered necessary the staircase by which it is approached.

A most striking view of the chapter-house is obtained from the further angle of the staircase, close to the doorway of the Vicars' College. The effect of the double-door arches with their tracery, of the central pier, the branched ribs of the vaulting, and the fine windows, is magnificent; and when the latter were filled with stained glass, must have been quite unrivalled. The chapter-house is by no means the least important of the many architectural masterpieces which

combine to place Wells so high in the rank of English cathedrals.

XXXIV. Beyond the chapter-house the staircase ascends, through a Perpendicular doorway, to the gallery over the Chain-gate which connects the *Vicars' College* with the cathedral. A body of vicars-choral was attached to the church from a very early period. The dean and canons, by whom this cathedral was ruled from the time of its foundation by Ina, had their residences within the Close, first surrounded with walls in the reign of Edward I. The vicars-choral were originally scattered throughout the town; but great abuses arose, and under Bishop RALPH OF SHREWSBURY (1329—1365) they were established in the existing college, the greater part of which, however, was rebuilt by Bishop BECKINGTON (1443—1464), or rather by his executors, to whom he had left a large sum for the purpose.

Through the gallery the vicars could pass from their own Close into the cathedral. The *common hall* of their college opens from it, and is a very interesting specimen of an ancient refectory. It is of Bishop Ralph's period (circa 1340), but was much altered either by Bishop Beckington, or somewhat later. Remark the huge fire-dogs and fire-irons, the oaken settles, and the pulpit from which one of the brethren read aloud during dinner. The small oriels on the dais are of great beauty, both within and without. A scroll over the fireplace requests the prayers of the vicars for Sir Richard Pomroy, who may have contributed toward

the erection of the hall; and above is an ancient painting representing the original grant of Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury (see Part II., *Bishop Ralph*). Some additional figures were inserted in the reign of Elizabeth, who refounded the college in 1591.

XXXV. The *Vicars' Close* is entered through a gateway beyond the Chain-gate, and originally contained forty-two uniform dwellings of two rooms each, each room having a fireplace, two windows, and a loop-hole. The arms of Bishop Beckington's executors—a fesse between three swans, for Richard Swan; the letter H, and three sugar-loaves, for Hugh Sugar; and a chevron between two roses in chief and a talbot in base, for John Pope or Talbot—are sculptured on the chimney-shafts, under those of the see and of Bishop Beckington alternately. Only one of the houses, however, retains its original character. The rest have been altered at various times, and the Close itself is no longer the exclusive residence of its proprietors, who now consist of three priest and eight lay-vicars.

On the north side of the Close are the chapel and library: the first originally built by Bishop Ralph about 1343, the latter by Bishop Beckington. None of Bishop Ralph's work remains in the chapel, however, which was rebuilt by Bishop Bubwith, as appears from his arms (three chaplets of holly-leaves) on the door, and in the stained glass. Some beautiful Early English sculpture (which may have come from the original east end of the cathedral) was used again in the spandrels of the windows, and should be noticed.

XXXVI. Returning to the cathedral, the visitor may ascend the *central tower*, by a staircase opening from the south-east angle of the south transept. He will cross the vault of the transept, and will then ascend the tower, the height of which, from the pavement, is 22 feet. The character of the pinnacles, it will be observed, is not Decorated, and they are probably later additions. A magnificent view is commanded from the roof. The position of the cathedral, rising from the centre of the valley, is perhaps better understood from here than from any other point.

XXXVII. A doorway in the same transept leads to the *chapter library*, built over the eastern walk of the cloister by Bishop BUBWITH (1407—1424), and said to have been largely furnished with books by Bishop LAKE (1516—1626). It now contains about 3,000 volumes, among which are many that belonged to Bishop Ken, and were left by him to his former cathedral. His own copy of Bp. Andrewes' Devotions is here, as well as a large and important collection of pamphlets relating to public events of his time. Other treasures of the library are—the Aldine edition of Aristotle, with the autograph and manuscript notes of Erasmus; the *Ety-mologica* of Isidorus, a manuscript of the fourteenth century; and a later manuscript relating to ecclesiastical law. A great number of iron chains, by which the books were formerly attached to the desks, are preserved here, and should be noticed. Thus, says Mr. D., the huge volumes of the casuists are chained to

their reading-desks at Salamanca,—“like mastiffs to prevent collision than removal.”

XXXVIII. From the south-west angle of the sept we pass into the *cloisters*, which here occupy a much larger area than in other cathedrals, and have only three sides or walks, instead of four, as in the true monastic cloister. The difference between a true monastic cloister and this of Wells should be remarked. The canons of Wells were not monks, and did not require a cloister in the ordinary sense. This is merely an ornamental walk round the cemetery. It did not lead to the dormitory, refectory, or chapter-house. It served as a passage to the bishop's palace; and the wall of the east walk is Early English of the same date as the palace itself. The rest of the east walk was built by Bishop Bubwith; the west by Bishop Beckington. Beckington also commenced the south side, which was completed soon after his death by Thomas Henry, treasurer of Wells. The lavatory in the east walk should be remarked, as well as the grotesque bosses of the wall in the portion built by Bishop Beckington. The western cloister is the Chapter Grammar-school. The central space is known as the “Palm Church,” from the yew-tree in its centre, the branches of which were formerly carried in procession as palms.

The mural tablets and monuments removed from the cathedral have been arranged on the walls of the cloisters. None of them, however, are of much interest.

XXXIX. From the south-east angle of the

descend into the open ground within the gateway joining the market-place, and opposite the *episcopal* *ce*. This is surrounded by a moat, as well as by high external walls and bastions, and would have been capable of sustaining a long siege according to the medieval system of warfare. The moat is fed by springs from St. Andrew's, or the "bottomless" well,—the original "great well" of King Ina,—which rise close to the palace, and fall into the moat in a cascade at the north-west corner. Both walls and moat were the work of Bishop RALPH OF SHREWSBURY (1329—1365).

The *gatehouse*, of the fifteenth century, was built by Bishop BECKINGTON (1443—1464). The octagonal bastions which serve as bastions are formed by giving a circular shape to the extremities of the whole mass on each side. The drawbridge and portcullis are no longer extant, but formed part of the late restoration effected by Bishop Bagot.

The *great hall*, of which the ruins remain, was built by Bishop BURNELL (1275—1292), who probably found the palace of Bishop Jocelyn (see *post*) too small on occasions of state. It still continued, however, to be the actual dwelling-house. Bishop Burnell's hall was dismantled, chiefly for the sake of the lead with which the roofs were covered, by Sir John Gates, who purchased the palace in 1552, after the execution of the Duke of Somerset, to whom it had been granted after his victorious return from the field of Pinkie-cleugh. It was one of the few remaining traces of its ancient splendour by Cornelius Burgess, who acquired it during

Cromwell's Protectorate: and although Bishop Piers partly repaired it in the reign of Charles II., it was afterwards neglected, and in the last century it fell into complete ruin. It was the largest episcopal hall in England (120 feet long, 70 feet broad), and was lighted by nine lofty windows. Octagonal turrets containing staircases rise at each angle. These still remain; and four of the windows, in their shrouding mantles of ivy, may still be admired. All the details deserve notice. In this hall, in 1539, Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury, was brought to his trial, on a pretended charge of appropriating the church plate, but in reality for refusing to surrender his abbey. He was acquitted, but on his return to Glastonbury was seized, dragged to the top of the Tor, and there executed.

The *chapel*, restored at a cost of £1,500 by the late Bishop Bagot, is a graceful Decorated building, of the same date and character as the choir. The three windows on either side are geometrical in their tracery, and of three different designs, each window corresponding with that opposed to it. The glass in the east window was the gift of Bishop Law.

The *Palace* itself has recently been much altered, particularly by Bishops Law and Bagot. It formed part of Bishop Jocelyn's original design, with the cathedral, chapter-house, and close; a "magnificent conception, giving an idea of the grandeur of the Middle Ages hardly to be obtained elsewhere," but which Bishop Jocelyn did not live to complete, although, in Fuller's words, "God, to square his great

undertakings, gave him a long life to his large heart." The ancient portion of the palace is still one of the finest examples of a thirteenth-century house existing in England, or perhaps in Europe. Its arrangement is the usual one of the period. The vaulted lower story, supported on pillars of Purbeck, served for cellars and entrance-hall. In the upper story was the principal dwelling-room, or hall, now a *gallery*, eighty feet in length, with groined roof and richly-carved doors and wainscoting. Here are portraits of some of the bishops, including those of Wolsey, Godwin, Laud, and Ken. The chair of the abbot of Glastonbury, and that called the "monk's chair," so well known from its numerous copies, are preserved here.

A terrace in the garden commands a fine view of the Cathedral, of Glastonbury Tor, and of the craggy Dulcote Hill, which rises beyond the meadows of the bishop's park. A very pleasant walk surrounds the palace outside the moat, the clear waters of which, with their swans and wild-fowl, combine with the fine trees and ivy-clad walls to produce a striking picture. Besides supplying the moat and turning several mills, the springs from St. Andrew's well were led by Bishop Beckington to the conduit raised by him in the market-place, and flow thence in cleansing streams through the streets of the city.

XL. On the north side of the Cathedral Green is the *Deanery*, built chiefly by Dean Gunthorpe (1475), chaplain to Edward IV., and Keeper of the Privy Seal. It is a quadrangle enclosing a court, and still shews the

beauty of the original building in the garden front, remarkable for its richly ornamented windows, the finest of which is a large oriel which formerly lighted the hall. Conspicuous in the decoration are the badges of Edward IV. (a rose and radiant sun), and the rebus of Gunthorpe. The front toward the Green is supposed to have been rebuilt at the time of the Commonwealth. Here is preserved an ancient pastoral staff, found some years since in the cathedral precincts. The head, of Limoges enamel, represents St. Michael vanquishing the dragon, and is studded with small turquoises and other precious stones.

# WELLS CATHEDRAL.

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## PART II.

### *History of the See, with Short Notices of the principal Bishops.*

the year 577, according to the Saxon Chronicle, the Saxon 'chester,' or fortified towns of Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester, were taken by the Saxon chiefs Hlothwin and Ceawlin, after the great battle of Deorham (near Exeter, in Devonshire,) in which three British kings fell, and which, by its results, effectually separated the Britons of Wales from those of Devon and Cornwall. From this time the Saxons obtained permanent footing in the province afterwards known as Somerset, or that of the 'Somersætas,' although the last of these does not seem to have been finally reduced by them until after the battle of Penn, in 658.

How far the ancient British Church of Glastonbury survived the struggle is uncertain\*; but Christian Churches

The British church of Glastonbury (to which reference has been made in Part I.) was traditionally said to have been founded by Joseph of Arimathea, who, according to the legend, reached the western shores of Britain with eleven companions, thirty-one years after our Saviour's Passion. They built their first chapel of stone, and, says William of Malmesbury, "this being the first church in the island, the Son of God was pleased to grace it with a particular distinction, dedicating it Himself in honour of His mother." It was indeed generally believed to have been not only the first church in Britain, but the first erected in Christendom. A large brass plate, on which the story was recorded at length, was fixed to one of the pillars in the abbey church; and it was afterwards in the possession of Spelman, who printed the in-

were no doubt founded by the new comers as they gradually took possession of the district; and of these, one of the most important was established by King Ina in 704, about the centre of the province, near a spring dedicated to St. Andrew and generally known as 'the Wells.' The situation, well sheltered by the Mendip hills, and at no great distance from the line of the Foss Way, the chief means of communication between Somerset and the rest of England, was convenient<sup>b</sup>; and succeeding kings of Wessex seem to have bestowed additional privileges on the house of secular canons settled at Wells by Ina, until, at the beginning of the tenth century, the place was chosen as the seat of the new bishopric founded by Edward the Elder for the province of Somerset<sup>c</sup>.

scription in the first volume of his *Concilia*. That Glastonbury was thus originally founded was the general belief throughout England; and the English ecclesiastics who were present at the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, brought forward the story as a proof that the churchmen of France and Spain had no real claim to precedence. A careful examination of the early history of Glastonbury will be found in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. i., cent. 1.

<sup>b</sup> A branch road from the Foss is said to have passed from Ilchester through Street and Glastonbury to Wells, and thence to a line of Roman road on the Mendips. This, however, is uncertain. Roman coins have been found in some quantities at Wookey, about two miles from Wells; but it is by no means clear that the city itself was ever a Roman station, although the names of 'Ad Aquas' and 'Theodorodunum' have been sometimes (but without authority) assigned to it. 'Tethisoina' is the name given to Wells in the Glastonbury Chronicle (quoted in "*Anglia Sacra*," i. p. 558); and it is called 'Tidington' in a charter of the Confessor. It is possible that the 'great springs' had rendered Wells a sacred site in the days of the Druids, and that they were first placed under the protection of St. Andrew by the early British Christians at Glastonbury.

<sup>c</sup> Before Ina's foundation, an episcopal see is said to have been established at Congresbury, on the river Yeo, between Yatton and Cheddar. The sole authority for this statement is the Glastonbury Chronicle, which is not trustworthy.

In what year this bishopric was founded is uncertain, since the passage in the History of William of Malmesbury, generally relied on as fixing it definitely in 904, has been shewn to be full of inaccuracies. It may, however, be taken for granted that about this period, and during the reign of Edward the Elder, two bishoprics, in addition to those already existing at Winchester and Sherborne, were provided for the kingdom of Wessex, which now embraced all the west of England—Wells for Somerset, and Crediton for Devonshire. The first bishop of Wells is said to have been Athelm, abbot of Glastonbury, who afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury. Of his successors before the Conquest little is recorded beyond their names. Two, like Athelm, had been abbots of Glastonbury; and three others, like him, were translated from Wells to Canterbury; a proof, perhaps, that the see of Wells, during the Saxon period, was richly endowed, and was generally filled by men of considerable rank. Giso, the fifteenth in succession from Athelm, recovered after the Conquest the possessions of the see, which had been forcibly retained by Harold (afterwards king), during the reign of Edward<sup>d</sup>. He replaced the canons who had been expelled, and was himself (probably owing to the fact that he was not of Saxon birth<sup>e</sup>) permitted to retain his see, to which he had been consecrated at Rome during the lifetime of the Confessor. Giso's successor was,

[A.D. 1088—1122.] JOHN DE VILLULA, a native of Tours,

<sup>d</sup> The spoliation of the see by Harold, and consequently Bishop Giso's recovery of the manors, are much doubted by the editors of the *Monasticon*. At the Domesday survey, the church of Wells possessed only one manor that had belonged to Harold "on the day when King Edward was alive and dead." The lands of the see at this period were wholly in Somersetshire, and extended to 280½ hides.

<sup>e</sup> He was a native of St. Trude in the Hasban, and is generally called 'Lotharingus,' like the contemporary bishops of Exeter and Worcester.

who had practised medicine at Bath successfully somewhat irregularly, according to William of bury<sup>1</sup>. He was the founder of the palace at Wells, moving for that purpose the cloister and other buildings which Bishop Giso had constructed for the use of the canons. A more important change brought about by the bishop was the removal of the place of the see from Bath to Wells; according to Malmesbury, for the sake of increasing his own importance, and against the will of the monks of Wells; but we may perhaps believe that Bishop Giso was also influenced by the same reasons which at the time of the Conquest led to the removal of many of the 'villulæ' in which they had at first been situated, to the greater security of walled towns; a change made in obedience to a decree of the Council of London in 1075; and partly resulting from the different life of the Saxon and Norman bishops, the first like the Saxon kings, were in the habit of wandering from one manor to another, and of thus receiving the rents and services due to them<sup>2</sup>. Bishop John Giso bought from Henry I. the "town of Bath," (the authority and services which had hitherto been due to the crown,) for five hundred pounds, and also obtained from the king the abbey of Bath, there, founded originally by Offa of Mercia, about 775, destroyed by the Northmen, but restored by Alfege, afterwards the sainted Archbishop of Canterbury, and burnt, with the greater part of the city, in 1043. Bishop John rebuilt it from the foundations, together with its church, dedicated to St. Peter, which for some time served as the cathedral; but although, in Malmesbury's words, "cessit Andreas Simoni fratri, frater major ecclesie," the Church of St. Andrew at Wells was not destined to remain long secondary. John de Villula's successor

<sup>1</sup> "Usu non literis medicus probatus."—*De Regibus*.

<sup>2</sup> See Exeter, Pt. II.

1123—1135.] GODEFRID, was, like himself, called "Bishop of Bath," and was buried in the abbey church there; under Bishop

1135—1166.] ROBERT,—a Cluniac monk from the Abbey of Pancras at Lewes,—the discord and jealousy between the men of Bath and Wells concerning the place of the see was so great that the matter was referred to the bishop for final decision; and it was determined that the bishop should in future be styled 'of Bath and Wells,' and should be elected by an equal number of monks and canons from the abbey and collegiate church. Bishop Robert partly rebuilt and partly repaired the Cathedral at Wells, which had become ruinous (see Pt. III.); but was himself buried in Bath. He seems to have occasionally assumed the name of Hawberk, after the then general fashion of the English bishops. (See *Winchester*, HENRY OF BLOIS, who is said to have procured Robert's election to the bishopric of Bath.) He was taken in his own city by the men of the barons (adherents of Matilda), and detained for some time in prison, in return for the capture of Wilfred Talbot, whom Bishop Robert had made prisoner in Bath.

The see remained vacant for nearly nine years after Bishop Robert's death, during which Henry II. retained the temporalities. His successor,

1171—1191.] REGINALD FITZ-JOCelyn, archdeacon of Exeter, and son of Reginald Jocelyn, the bishop of Salisbury, was excommunicated by Becket at Vezelay, consecrated in 1171, was elected to the see of Canterbury in 1171, but died before his consecration. He bestowed the Great Charter on the city of Wells.

1192—1205.] SAVAARICUS, son of Goldwin, archdeacon of Northampton, and a relative of the Emperor Henry VI. of Germany, is said to have received the bishopric of Bath from Richard Cœur de Lion during his detention by the Emperor, in return for many services rendered by him to the royal captive. The rich abbey of Glastonbury was added

to the see, in consideration of which the city of Bath was to be resigned to the king; and the bishop, who had remained in Germany after Richard's release, as one of the hostages for the full payment of his ransom, styled himself, on his arrival in England, Bishop of "Bath and Glastonbury." He was buried at Bath, where his many wanderings were thus alluded to in his epitaph:—

"Hospes erat mundo, per mundum semper eundo,  
Sic suprema dies fit sibi prima quies."

Bishop Savaricus had maintained a constant warfare with the monks of Glastonbury, who appealed to Rome against the union of their abbey with the bishopric; and Adam of Domersham (one of the monks) records how the bishop arrived at Glastonbury on Whit-Sunday, attended by an armed company "non sicut decuit pastorem;" how he broke open the doors of the abbey and church, which had been closed against him, seized the sacred vestments, caused himself to be enthroned in the church, and scourged the refractory monks, many of whom were afterwards carried off and imprisoned at Wells. The strife was appeased, however, soon after the accession of

[A.D. 1206—1239.] JOCELYN TROTMAN, called JOCELYN OF WELLS. The monks of Glastonbury agreed to resign a goodly proportion of their manors to the bishop, who, in return, abandoned his claim to their abbey. Henceforth the bishops are known in unbroken succession as 'of Bath and Wells.' In 1208, after the promulgation of the papal interdict in consequence of King John's refusal to accept Stephen Langton as archbishop, (see *Canterbury*.) Jocelyn of Wells, like many other prelates, was compelled to leave the kingdom. He fled accordingly, in company with the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, who had published the interdict, and did not return until after the king's submission to Pandulph in 1213<sup>b</sup>. After his restoration,

<sup>b</sup> Whilst Bishop Jocelyn was in exile the king received the revenue of Wells, which in 1212 was £214 14s. 6d. (Mag. Rot.,

chief cares were devoted to the improvement of his see, of the Cathedral of Wells, of which he shines forth as one of the greatest benefactors. He seems, in fact, to have fully rebuilt it from the foundations; and portions of the existing nave, the transepts, and part of the choir are of his work. (See Pts. I. and III.) He first appointed vicars choral for the cathedral, besides creating several new prebends; and bought the palace, afterwards known as Arundel House, in the Strand, for the use of the bishops of Wells. The chapel attached to the palace of Wells, and restored by Bishop Bagot (died 1854), was also originally built by Bishop Jocelyn, who was buried (1242) in the midst of the choir of his new cathedral. He had been thirty-seven years bishop; "God," says Fuller, "to square his great undertakings, giving him a long life to his large heart." In conjunction with Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, Bishop Jocelyn crowned Henry III., at Gloucester.

1243—1247.] ROGER, his successor, was the last bishop buried at Bath.

1248—1264.] WILLIAM BYTTON or BUTTON, a member of a knightly family settled at Bytton, in the neighbourhood of Bath, was sent in 1253 to Spain, in order to negotiate the marriage between Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I., and the Princess Eleanor of Castile. He is principally remarkable, however, for the long row of Buttons which he succeeded in affixing to the various dignities of Wells. More than half-a-dozen of his relatives were thus provided for. His tomb remains at the north-east corner of St. Catherine's Chapel in Wells Cathedral, (Pt. I. XXVII.)

(with John.) The bishop's establishment, according to this document, comprised a train of huntsmen, a pack of harriers, and thirteen other dogs of various descriptions. Richard I. had permitted the bishops to keep dogs of chase anywhere in Somersetshire.

[A.D. 1264, 5.] **WALTER GIFFORD** (1264, was translated to York in 1265.)

[A.D. 1267—1274.] A second **WILLIAM BYTTON**, nephew of the former bishop of that name, succeeded. In his lifetime he enjoyed the highest reputation for sanctity of life and manners; and when the pope granted permission to Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury elect, to be consecrated by any bishop he might prefer, he chose Bishop Bytton, "*quod fama sanctitatis inter cæteros multum efflorebant*." He continued to be revered after death; and his tomb, which remains in the south choir-aisle, (Pt. I. § XXVI.,) was much resorted to for the cure of toothache. This bishop was the author of an important body of statutes for the government of the Church of Wells.

[A.D. 1275—1292.] **ROBERT BURNELL** was descended from the powerful Barons of Burnell, whose principal stronghold was the Castle of Acton Burnell in Shropshire. He was one of the chief ministers of Edward I.,—treasurer, and afterwards chancellor,—and was much employed in affairs connected with Wales, for better attention to which he removed for some time the Court of Chancery to Bristol. He is said to have amassed great wealth, and to have enriched his brothers and other relatives "*supra modum*." The great hall of the palace at Wells, (now in ruins,) the largest attached to any episcopal palace in England, was built by him; and he repaired at his own expense the castle of his family at Acton Burnell. Bishop Burnell died at Berwick in 1292, during the meeting of the Scottish and English barons at which Edward I. adjudged the crown of Scotland to Balliol. His body, however, was brought to Wells, and interred in the nave of his cathedral.

[A.D. 1293—1302.] **WILLIAM DE LA MARCH**, Treasurer of England, succeeded Burnell. The great Churchmen had been ready to support Edward I. in his schemes of insular conquest, especially in his attacks on the Welsh,

<sup>1</sup> Mat. Paris.

whose rebellious princes Archbishop Peckham excommunicated, and whose movements Bishop Burnell had carefully watched. It is nevertheless somewhat remarkable that, if we are to believe the statement of Westminster, William de la March was the instigator of the arbitrary act by which, before his war in Guienne, Edward I. swept into his own exchequer, under the name of a loan, all the wealth which had been accumulated in the religious houses of the realm; not only that belonging to the Churchmen themselves, but that also which, according to the usage of the time, had been placed by others in their charge, as in the most secure banks of deposit. Edward I. petitioned the Pope for the canonization of this prelate after his death, asserting that his life had been conspicuous for sanctity, and that many miracles had been performed by him. The king's request, however, was not granted; possibly owing to the part Bishop de la March had taken in the plunder of the monasteries. His tomb remains in the south transept. The beautiful chapter-house of his cathedral was commenced by Bishop De la March. (Pt. I. § XVIII.)

[A.D. 1302—1308.] WALTER HASELSHAW, Dean of Wells, succeeded.

[A.D. 1309—1329.] JOHN BROKENSFORD, Keeper of the king's wardrobe, in 1312 was appointed guardian of the kingdom during the absence of Edward II. in France. He subsequently attached himself to the party of Queen Isabella. "He took," says the old historian of Wells, "some care of his diocese, which he adorned by his buildings, but far more of his own family."

[A.D. 1329—1365.] RALPH OF SHREWSBURY, (Radulphus de Salopia,) whose birth and antecedents are unknown, was the unanimous choice of the monks of Bath and of the canons of Wells. His consecration took place without the assent of the Pope, for which unfortunate haste Bishop Ralph had subsequently to pay an enormous sum into the Roman treasury. He was the founder of the

Bishop's College at Wells, afterwards added to by Bishop Beckington. In the hall there still remains a curious picture, in which the vicars are seen kneeling at the feet of the bishop, with this inscription attached :—

“ Per vicos positi villæ, pater alme rogamus  
Ut simul uniti, te dante domos, maneamus.”

The bishop benignantly responds :—

“ Vestra petunt merita, quod sint concessa petita,  
Ut maneatis ita, loca fecimus hic stabilita.”

Bishop Ralph also built a house for the choristers, besides restoring many of the palaces belonging to the see, and surrounding with lofty walls and a deep foss the episcopal palace at Wells. He rendered himself especially popular by procuring the disafforestation of Mendip, hitherto a royal hunting-ground. The change was greatly in favour of the country people ; “beef,” says old Fuller, “better pleasing the husbandman's palate than venison.” His tomb, with effigy, remains in the north choir-aisle. (Pt. I. § XXXI.)

[A.D. 1363—1365.] JOHN BARNET, translated from Worcester in 1363, was removed to Ely in 1365.

[A.D. 1366—1386.] JOHN HAREWELL, chaplain to the Black Prince and Chancellor of Gascony, was consecrated at Bourdeaux by the archbishop of that city. He built the south tower of the west front. His effigy remains in the south choir-aisle, but scarcely represents him, as Godwin tells us he was, “homo præpinguis et obesus admodum.” (Pt. I. § XXVI.)

[A.D. 1386—1388.] WALTER SKIRLAW, translated from Lichfield in 1386, removed to Durham (see that Cathedral), in 1388.

[A.D. 1388—1401.] RALPH ERGHUM, translated from Salisbury in 1388, died 1401.

[A.D. 1401—1407.] HENRY BOWET, translated to York, 1407.

[A.D. 1407—1424.] NICHOLAS BUBWITH, had been translated from London to Salisbury, and thence to Bath and Wells. He was present at the Council of Constance, and was one

f those who assisted in electing Pope Martin V. In his cathedral at Wells he built the north tower of the western front, and his beautiful chantry remains in the nave, (Pt. I. § XVII.) Bishop Bubwith was the founder of an almshouse at Wells, still existing near St. Cuthbert's church.

D. 1425—1443.] JOHN STAFFORD, was translated to Canterbury, (see that Cathedral), in 1443.

D. 1443—1464.] THOMAS DE BECKINGTON, one of the great benefactors of Wells, succeeded. He was born (of low parentage, 'textoris filius,') at the village of Beckington, about two miles from Frome, and was sent at an early age to Winchester for education, where he attracted the attention of William of Wykeham, who placed him first in his college at Winchester, and thence removed him to Oxford. A book in which he asserted the right of the English crown, and made it

... "well appear, the Salique law  
Was not devised for the realm of France,"

drew on him the favourable notice of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, by whose influence, as is probable, he was made tutor to the young King Henry VI. ; and after having been appointed principal Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Seal, he was nominated to this bishopric in the year 1443. Bishop Beckington trod closely in the steps of his early patron, Wykeham, whose love and practical knowledge of architecture he seems to have inherited. Nearly all the episcopal palaces in his diocese were repaired by him ; a part of the cloisters at Wells was his work ; and the College of Vicars Choral, which Bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury had founded, was greatly enlarged and improved at his expense. His rebus, a beacon and a ton, still remains on these and other of his buildings. For the city of Wells he built gatehouses, market-offices, and a conduit, supplied by pipes from St. Andrew's Well. In Oxford, imitating Wykeham, he was one of the principal benefactors of Lincoln

College, the building of which he completed. Bishop Beckington died very wealthy, (although he asserts in his will that he had spent six thousand marks in repairing and adorning his palaces,) bequeathing books, church ornaments, and vestments to his churches of Bath and Wells, to Wykeham's colleges at Winchester and Oxford, and to many parish churches and monasteries. His beautiful chantry remains, partly in St. Calixtus' chapel (Pt. I. § XVIII.), and partly on the south side of the choir (Pt. I. § XXVI.) "A beacon," says Fuller, "we know is so called from *beckoning*,—that is, making signs or giving notice to the next beacon," (an etymology which need not be pressed, however). "This bright beacon doth nod and give hints of bounty to future ages; but it is to be feared it will be long before his signs will be observed, understood, and imitated<sup>k</sup>."

<sup>k</sup> In the notice of Bishop Beckington, introduced by Chaundler in his life of Wykeham, Wells is thus described:—the speakers are Ferrandus and Panestius. Ferrandus having wandered over hills and through valleys from 'the beautiful and sublime University of Oxford,' desires to rest in the 'village' he sees at a distance. Panestius replies,—

"You should call it a city rather than a village, which would be more evident to you, could you see all the beauty and neatness that is within it. That most beautiful church which we discern at a distance, consecrated to St. Andrew, the most pious apostle of the immortal God, contains the episcopal chair of a worthy priest. It has also adjoining to it, an extensive palace, adorned with wonderful splendour, surrounded with flowing waters, and crowned with a fine row of turreted walls, in which dwells the most dignified and learned prelate, Thomas, the first of that name. This man, by his sole industry and disbursements, raised this city to its present state of splendour; fortifying the church in the strongest manner with gates, towers, and walls, and building the palace in which he lives, with other edifices, in the most sumptuous style; so that he not only merits to be called the founder, but more deservedly the grace and ornament of the Church.

"That the clergymen here are religious in their manners, honest in their lives, noble in hospitality, affable and agreeable to strangers, and to all benevolent, you will first discover from

[A.D. 1465—1491.] ROBERT STILLINGTON, already Keeper of the Privy Seal, became Chancellor of England in 1468. By Edward IV. he was sent on a mission, the object of which was to induce the Duke of Bretagne to deliver up Henry of Richmond, who had taken refuge with him. On this occasion Bishop Stillington made for himself a bitter enemy in Richmond; and on the accession of the latter to the crown of England, the Bishop is said to have supported, though to what extent is uncertain, the imposture of Lambert Simnel. At any rate, after the fall of Simnel, Stillington was accused of high treason, and compelled to take refuge in Oxford. For some time the University refused to deliver him, asserting that to do so would be a violation of their privileges, since he was among them, to all appearance, for the prosecution of study. The crime of high treason, however, could not be covered even by the high privileges of mediæval Oxford; and Bishop Stillington was at length (1487) given into the hands of the King's messengers, by whom he was conveyed to Windsor. He remained there in close custody until his death in 1491. He had built for himself a stately chantry adjoining the cloisters of his own cathedral, in which he was buried. The chantry was destroyed, however, by Sir John Gates (*temp.* Eliz.), for the sake of the lead with which it was covered; and men, says Godwin, who when boys had seen the bishop alive, and had witnessed his interment, beheld in

observation, and then learn from experience; for they are accustomed to wait on strangers and travellers with every office of humanity; and they seem to contend who shall first invite any one and prevail on him to partake of their hospitality. The urbanity of the inferior clerks whom they call vicars, the order and concord of the citizens, the just laws, the excellent polity, the delightful situation of the place, the neatness of the dwellings, the intrinsic prudence of the people, and the adornment, honour, and pleasantness of the whole, both make and ornament this city; the name of which is Wells (Fontana,) so called by its ancient inhabitants from the fountains gushing out in every part."

their old age his chantry destroyed, and his remains themselves rudely shaken from the lead in which they had been wrapped.

[A.D. 1491—1494.] **RICHARD FOX**, translated from Exeter, and from Wells to Durham; finally to Winchester in 1500. (See **EXETER** and **WINCHESTER**.)

[A.D. 1495—1503.] **OLIVER KING**, Chief Secretary to Edward IV. and to Henry VII., succeeded Bishop Fox both in the see of Exeter and in that of Bath and Wells. His principal work was the rebuilding (or rather beginning to rebuild) the abbey church at Bath, generally considered the latest cathedral built in England. This he is said to have done in obedience to a dream, in which he saw a vision resembling Jacob's ladder, and heard a voice saying, "Let an Oliver stablish the Crown and a King build the Church." Accordingly, on the west front of the church is represented the dream of Bishop King—the ladder, with ascending and descending angels. There is also an inscription in Latin and English (referring to Judges ix. 8),—

" Trees going to choose their King  
Said, Be to us the Olive(r) King."

The church, however, was scarcely completed at the time of the dissolution; and Bishop King himself was most probably buried at Windsor, in a chapel on the south side of the choir. His successor was

[A.D. 1504—1518.] **HADRIAN DE CASTELLO**, a native of Corneto in Tuscany, despatched as papal legate to Scotland by Pope Innocent VIII. The death of the Scottish King detained him in London, where he became intimate with Archbishop Morton, by whom Henry VII. was persuaded to entrust him, on his return to Rome, with the management of all business between England and the Papal Court. In the year 1503 the bishopric of Hereford was conferred upon him; from which, in the following year, he was translated to Bath and Wells. In the meantime,

Alexander VI., "sui sæculi monstrum" (Alexander Borgia), had raised him to the cardinalate, and afterwards, casting a longing eye upon the wealth which Hadrian had amassed, attempted to poison him, with certain other cardinals, at the famous banquet in the garden of the Vatican (August, 1503). The poisoned wine, however, was presented to the Pope himself by mistake, who died, and whose son, the infamous Cæsar Borgia, never recovered the effects of the same poison. Cardinal de Castello subsequently headed a conspiracy against Leo X., and upon its discovery was compelled to leave Rome in disguise, and was never afterwards heard of. The bishoprics both of Hereford and of Bath and Wells were conferred on him at Rome. In the latter he was installed in the person of his proxy, the Pope's sub-collector in England, the historian Polydore Vergil, who afterwards became Archdeacon of Wells; "on the acquire whereof," says Fuller, "he bestowed hangings flourished with the laurel-tree, and as I remember wrote upon them, 'Sunt Polydori munera Vergilii.'"

[D. 1518—1523.] THOMAS WOLSEY held the see of Wells *in commendam* upon the deprivation of Cardinal de Castello, until he resigned it in 1523 in order to receive the richer benefice of Durham. It may here be observed, that throughout the episcopates of foreign prelates, such as Cardinal de Castello, — whilst a see was held *in commendam*, as by Wolsey, — or whilst such bishops as Beckett and Stillington were holding the chancellorship and other great offices of state, the duties of their sees were discharged by suffragan bishops, one of whom, Thomas Cornish, Provost of Oriel, and *Tinensis Episcopus*, — titular bishop of Tenos in the Archipelago, — presided over the affairs of Bath and Wells from 1486 to 1513. This use of suffragans in the English Church dates from an early period<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Collier, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 61, and vol. iv. p. 268, ed. 1840). The episcopate of Thomas Cornish is generally sup-

- [A.D. 1523—1540.] JOHN CLEBK, constantly employed on foreign embassies by Henry VIII., was sent by the King to Rome in 1521, in order to present to Pope Leo X. the King's "Defence of the Faith" in reply to Luther. His speech in the Consistory of Cardinals on this occasion is printed with the book itself. On his return he was rewarded with the bishopric of Bath and Wells. In 1535 a more difficult mission was entrusted to him, that of announcing to the Duke of Cleves the divorce of Henry VIII. from Anne. The Bishop and all his attendants were accidentally poisoned on their way home, the former only returning with difficulty to London, where he died, February, 1540.
- [A.D. 1541—1547.] WILLIAM KNIGHT, "legum doctor," an 'orator' or ambassador of Henry VIII., succeeded to the see. He built a beautiful cross in the market-place at Wells, which, however, is no longer existing.

[A.D. 1548—1554.] WILLIAM BARLOW became Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1535. In the following year he was translated to St. David's, and in 1548 to Wells. He was a supporter of the 'new profession;' and on the accession of Mary was compelled to take refuge in Germany. Elizabeth appointed him to the see of Chichester, where he became the first Protestant bishop. (See CHICHESTER.) Barlow became Bishop of Wells through the influence of the Protector Duke of Somerset, in whose favour the best manors belonging to the see, together with the episcopal palace at Wells, were alienated in the reign of Bishop Barlow's appointment.

Barlow is supposed to have lasted fifty-three years, and to be the longest-lived recorded in the annals of the English Church. He has been succeeded, however, with a predecessor of the same name, 'Tinensis,' also suffragan of Wells from 1459 to 1471. (See Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 146.) The episcopate of Cardinal Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury (fifty-one years) is the longest on record of an English prelate in actual possession of his see.

- [A.D. 1554—1558.] GILBERT BOURN was nominated to the see by Queen Mary, who also made him President of Wales. Such was the rapacity of the courtiers in the previous reign, that Godwin suggests the see would have been altogether suppressed had not Mary's accession prevented any further alienations. Before the Reformation it had been wealthier than either London or Salisbury. The palace at Wells had been restored to the see on Somerset's attainder. Bishop Bourn was deprived by Elizabeth, and placed under the custody of the Dean of Exeter. He died at Silverton, in Devonshire, in 1569, and was buried in the church there; which now, however, contains no memorial of him.
- [A.D. 1559—1581.] GILBERT BARKLEY, first of the unbroken succession of Protestant bishops. After his death the see remained vacant for two years, until
- [A.D. 1584—1590.] THOMAS GODWIN was appointed, in much favour as a preacher with Queen Elizabeth. The see was again vacant for two years.
- [A.D. 1592—1607.] JOHN STIL.
- [A.D. 1608—1616.] JAMES MONTAGUE had been first Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. At Wells he restored the episcopal palace, which had fallen much into decay, giving especial attention to the chapel, originally built by Bishop Jocelyn; and which, after Montague's restoration, is praised by Godwin as one of the most beautiful he had ever seen. Bishop Montague gave £1,000 towards the completion of the abbey church at Bath. In 1616 he was translated to Winchester.
- [A.D. 1616—1626.] ARTHUR LAKE, Warden of the Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, succeeded.
- [A.D. 1626—1628.] WILLIAM LAUD was translated to Wells from St. David's; in 1628 to London, and thence to Canterbury. (See CANTERBURY.)
- [A.D. Sept. 1628—Sept. 1629.] LEONARD MAWE had accompanied Prince Charles on his romantic expedition to Spain, and became Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, on his

return. He is said to have received his bishopric through the influence of the Duke of Buckingham, who by Mawe's representation had been elected Chancellor of Cambridge.

[A.D. 1699—1639.] **WALTER CURLE**, translated from Rochester, and from Wells to Winchester.

[A.D. 1632—1670.] **WILLIAM PIERCE**, translated from Peterborough, shared the general fate of the Church during the Civil War, and lived to be replaced in his see on the Restoration.

[A.D. 1670—1672.] **ROBERT CREIGHTON**.

[A.D. 1672—1684.] **PETER MEWS**, translated to Winchester. (See that Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1684—1690.] **THOMAS KEN**, "one of the most primitive and holy bishops who, by God's mercy, have been raised up to adorn the Apostolical Church in England," is also the bishop who, of all his predecessors and successors, is now most generally remembered in connection with the see of Bath and Wells. Ken was born at Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, in July, 1637. In his fifteenth year he was sent to Winchester College, where he was admitted in January, 1652. His name is still to be seen, cut in the stone, on a buttress in the south-east corner of the college cloisters. Here commenced his friendship with Francis Turner, afterwards Bishop of Ely, who became associated with him in many of the most remarkable events of his life.

From Winchester Ken passed to Hart Hall, in Oxford, and afterwards became Scholar and Fellow of New College. He returned to Winchester as Fellow of the college there in 1666. Bishop Morley made him his domestic chaplain. In 1669 he became Prebendary of Winchester, and was afterwards appointed chaplain to King Charles II. and to the Princess Mary of Orange. At this time he composed his "Manual of Prayers for the Use of Winchester Scholars," as well as (for the same purpose) his three well-known hymns, "Morning, Evening, and Midnight." The refusal

his house to Nell Gwynne, who had accompanied the king to Winchester, seems to have procured for Ken the hopric of Bath and Wells, which became vacant soon afterwards. So far from having been offended by Ken's remptory refusal, Charles II. is said to have exclaimed, "Odd's fish ! who shall have Bath and Wells but the little fellow who would not give poor Nelly a lodging ?"

Ken was accordingly consecrated by Archbishop Sandfort in 1684. He attended the death-bed of Charles II., together with his friend Turner, Bishop of Ely; and then went down to Wells to begin the care of his diocese. The simple, laborious, and earnest life of the new bishop at once commanded the affectionate respect of his people. "His Christian self-government and discipline were the secret of his strength, as his free and almost unlimited almsgiving was the preparation of his cheerful contentment in his own reverses." After the battle of Sedgemoor—within a day's journey of Wells—the Bishop received and assisted the fugitives by hundreds; and was appointed, with Bishop Turner of Ely, to attend the Duke of Monmouth on the scaffold. Both Ken and Turner were among the seven bishops tried and acquitted at Westminster; and both, on the accession of the Prince of Orange, were found among the nonjurors. Bishop Ken made a public protest in the cathedral at Wells against his deprivation; but, after the case had been offered to Dr. Beveridge, and declined by him, it was filled by Dr. Kidder.

Bishop Ken, whose income was now reduced to £20 a-year, found an asylum in the house of his nephew, Isaac Walton, Canon of Salisbury, and Rector of Polshot, near Devizes. Here and at Longleat, the seat of his friend Lord Weymouth, he passed the greater part of his remaining years. On the death of Bishop Kidder, Ken made a cession of his canonical rights to Dr. Hooper, Bishop of St. Asaph, who was about to be translated to Wells. This was the last important event of his life. He died at Longleat,

March 19, 1710; and was buried (it is said at sunrise, in reference to his habit of rising with the sun) in the churchyard of Frome in Somersetshire, where his memory is still venerated. A window commemorating him has lately been placed in the chancel. He is interred beneath a grating of iron bars, bent into the form of a coffin, across which are laid an iron mitre and pastoral staff.

Bishop Ken was an exact economist of his time, and is said to have strictly accustomed himself to one sleep only in the night, so that he often rose at one or two o'clock in the morning. It was also his regular practice to sing his own Morning Hymn to the lute before dressing himself. The best and fullest account of this excellent bishop will be found in the "Life of Ken, by a Layman," London, 1851.

[A.D. 1691—1703.] RICHARD KIDDER became Bishop of Bath and Wells on the deprivation of Ken. The see had been offered to Dr. Beveridge, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, who declined it, being unwilling to take upon himself an office of which he believed Ken to have been unjustly deprived. Bishop Kidder had been a Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; but his fellowship was taken from him in the year 1662, on the score of his puritanical opinions. These, however, he afterwards got rid of; and having been appointed Dean of Peterborough in 1681, was elevated, ten years later, to the place of Bishop Ken. During the great storm on the night between the 26th and 27th of November, 1703, when Winstanley perished in his lighthouse on the Eddystone, Bishop Kidder and his wife were both killed, as they lay in bed in the palace at Wells, by the fall of a heavy stack of chimneys. They were buried in the cathedral.

[A.D. 1704—1727.] GEORGE HOOPER had accompanied into Holland, as her almoner, the Princess Mary of Orange, on her marriage. After her accession to the crown of England, Hooper became Dean of Canterbury, and in 1703 was con-

separated Bishop of St. Asaph. In the following year he was translated to Bath and Wells.

[A.D. 1727—1743.] JOHN WYNNE, translated from St. Asaph.

[A.D. 1743—1773.] EDWARD WILLIS.

[A.D. 1774—1802.] CHARLES MOSS.

[A.D. 1802—1824.] RICHARD BEADON.

[A.D. 1824—1845.] GEORGE HENRY LAW. During his episcopate the Theological College was established at Wells.

[A.D. 1845—1854.] RICHARD BAGOT.

[A.D. 1854—.] ROBERT JOHN EDEN, BARON AUCKLAND.

# WELLS CATHEDRAL.

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## PART III.

NOTE. (SEE PART I. § XII.)

THE architectural character of the nave of Wells, in connection with the direct statement of the Canon of Wells, (whose short Chronicle, written immediately after the death of Bishop Bubworth, A.D. 1424, is the only known authority for the history of the cathedral<sup>a</sup>;) that Bishop Jocelyn entirely pulled down the former church, rebuilt it from the foundations, and dedicated it, “Wellensem ecclesiam, vetustatis ruinis enormiter deformatam, prostravit, et a pavimentis erexit, dedicavitque,” offers, it must be admitted, much difficulty. Professor Willis’s explanation has been adopted in the text (Part I.); but a very different view has been supported by a thoroughly competent architectural critic, from whom we have received the following note:—

“Reading the History of the Canon of Wells, with allowable observance of probabilities, and also with the light of internal evidence, I make out this to be the course of the church. Robert (1135—1165) consecrated the Norman church, which was probably just about completed, (and may have included many Saxon portions,) between 1142 and 1149; for the consecration took place in the presence of Joceline of Sarum, Simon of Worcester and Robert of Hereford, and it was only in that interval that these bishops held those sees together. This consecration, if the Canon of Wells is to be trusted, *preceded* the large repairs which Robert carried on during the rest of his episcopate:—‘Dedicavit ecclesiam Wellensem, præsentibus Jocelino Sarum, Simone Wigorn, et Roberto Herefordensi, episcopi: multas ruinas ejusdem ecclesiæ destructionem ejus in locis pluribus comminantes, egregie

<sup>a</sup> It will be found in Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i.

reparavit.' If, as is probable, a great part of Robert's repairs took the form of reconstruction, the style of the two western arches of the choir, of one bay of the choir aisles, of the transept, and of the nave until you come to the break in the masonry in the fifth bay, may be assigned to him, on the internal evidence of their style. Robert dies in 1165; Henry II. seizes the temporalities, and keeps the see vacant for eight years, a sufficient reason for expecting a break in the masonry, and a change in any little details when the work proceeds. Now not a word is said about Reginald Fitz-Joceline's part in the cathedral, but enough is told of his character as a munificent prelate to make it extremely unlikely that he did nothing. My own belief is that he finished the nave, up to the then Norman west front, which he left standing. Reginald Fitz-Joceline died in 1192.

"The history and existing remains of Glastonbury afford collateral evidence of this.

"In 1185 the whole fabric of Glastonbury, except the tower, was destroyed by fire; but the restoration was commenced immediately, and must have been in vigorous progress during the episcopate of Fitz-Joceline, for it is said to have been completed in 1193. Now large portions of the remains of Glastonbury, which *must be* of this date, are exactly in the same style as the nave, from the break to the west end, and the north porch of Wells.

"Of Savaricus, the successor of Reginald Fitz-Joceline, I say nothing. His heart was probably at Glastonbury, if it was anywhere in England. But he may have built the crypt of the chapter-house, or rather it may have been built in his day, for it is not likely that a bishop should himself build a chapter-house.

"Then comes Joceline, to whom the History (which assigns *nothing* of the existing church to Robert or to Reginald) attributes everything. If internal evidence were *with* the History I would not complain, but it is dead against it. Nor do I think the History consistent with itself even:—'*Wellensem ecclesiam vetustatis ruinis enormiter deformatam prostravit, et a pavementis erexit dedicavitque;*' and yet only about half a century before it is said of Robert, '*multas ruinas destructionem in locis pluribus comminantes egregie reparavit.*' Even if Robert had *only* repaired,

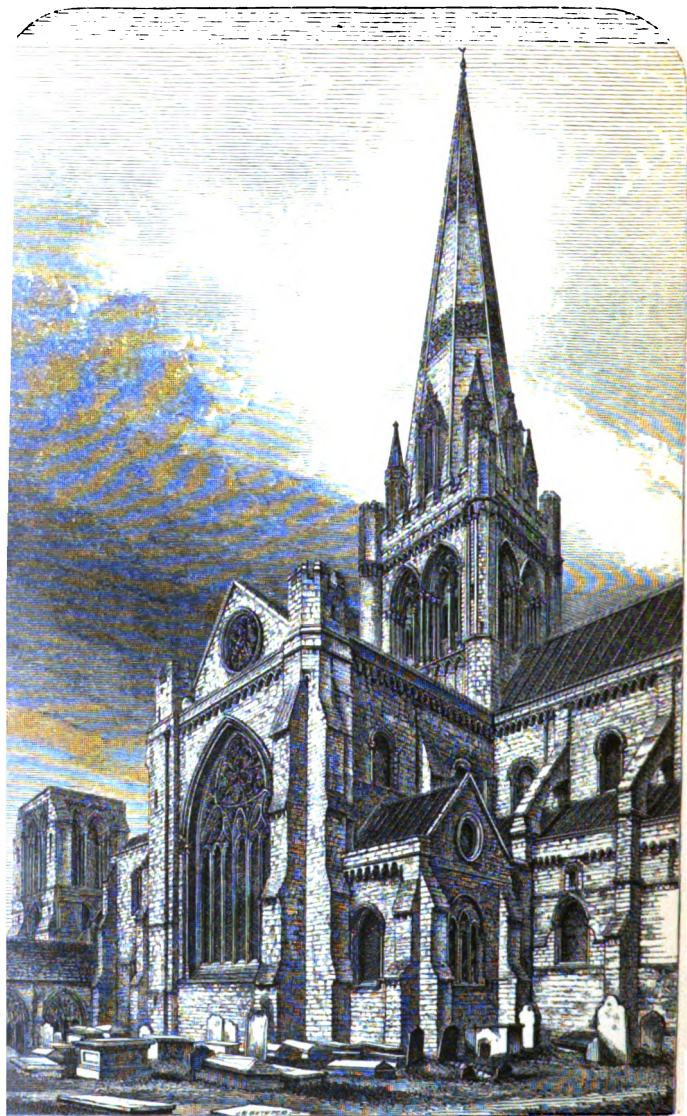
seeing he did it *egregie*, and if his successor Reginald did nothing, still we should hardly look for enormous ruins from age so soon after Robert's death. It must be remembered that Joceline was the Wells hero, and to him, as to King Arthur or St. George in romance, a huge deal may be attributed which he neither did nor could do. Now I will not say that there is any physical impossibility in Joceline's building the nave, &c., but I will say, that it is architecturally and archæologically impossible, or nearly so. Professor Willis's explanation of the matter is only a theory created for the nonce; and far as I estimate his authority before my own, I can in no sort agree with him in this case. Enough glory still remains to Joceline in the erection of the west front, and all that naturally accompanies it."

The parallel of Glastonbury, noticed above, is certainly remarkable; but, although Mr. Sharpe has placed the nave and transepts of Wells among his examples of Transition, there seems almost as much architectural difficulty in assigning them to the periods of Bishops Robert and Fitz-Jocelyn (1135—1192) as to the later time of Jocelyn of Wells, when the Early English was elsewhere in full development. There is no trace of the round arch in Wells, a feature which, in more or less prominence, is rarely, if ever, absent in true transitional buildings. Indeed, if Wells is to be considered Transition-Norman, we must still have recourse to Professor Willis's suggestion, and believe in the existence of a local school of art, since it differs from all other examples of that style. It is greatly to be wished that the records of the cathedral should be carefully searched, and that any documents bearing on its construction should be made public. The Canon of Wells can hardly have made his positive statements as to the alterations and reconstructions of the building without having had before him good documentary authority, some of which may possibly still exist.



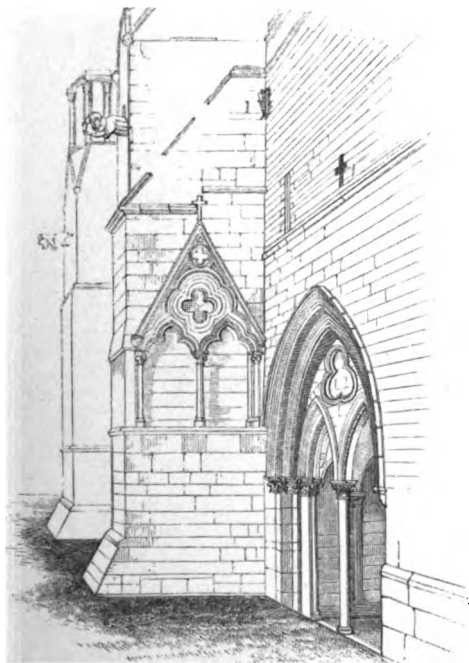
CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



SOUTH TRANSEPT.

# CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.



NORTH PORCH.



**HANDBOOK**  
**TO THE**  
**CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND.**

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**Southern Division.**

**PART II.**  
**CHICHESTER.—CANTERBURY.**  
**ROCHESTER.**

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**With Illustrations.**

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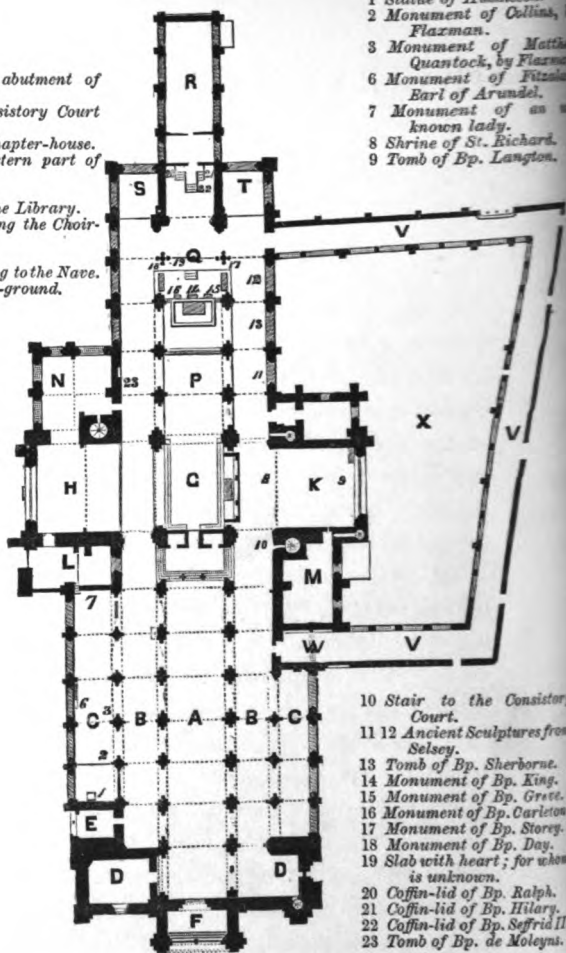
NCES.

rs.

by abutment of  
Consistory Court  
the Chapter-house.  
Eastern part of

to the Library.  
terminating the Choir-

leading to the Nave.  
the burial-ground.



- 1 Statue of Huskisson.
- 2 Monument of Collins, by Flaxman.
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GROUND-PLAN, CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in.

# CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

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## PART I.

### History and Details.

I. FOR the history of the removal, after the Conquest, of the South Saxon see from Selsey to Chichester, see Part II. A monastery, dedicated to St. Peter, existed at that time within the walls of Chichester, partly on the site of the present cathedral. The church of this monastery seems at first to have served as that of the see. A cathedral, however, was built by Ralph, the third bishop.

This was completed in 1108, and partly destroyed by fire in 1114. Its restoration was commenced by the same Bishop RALPH; and the church was far advanced at his death in 1123, but was not ready for consecration until the year 1148.

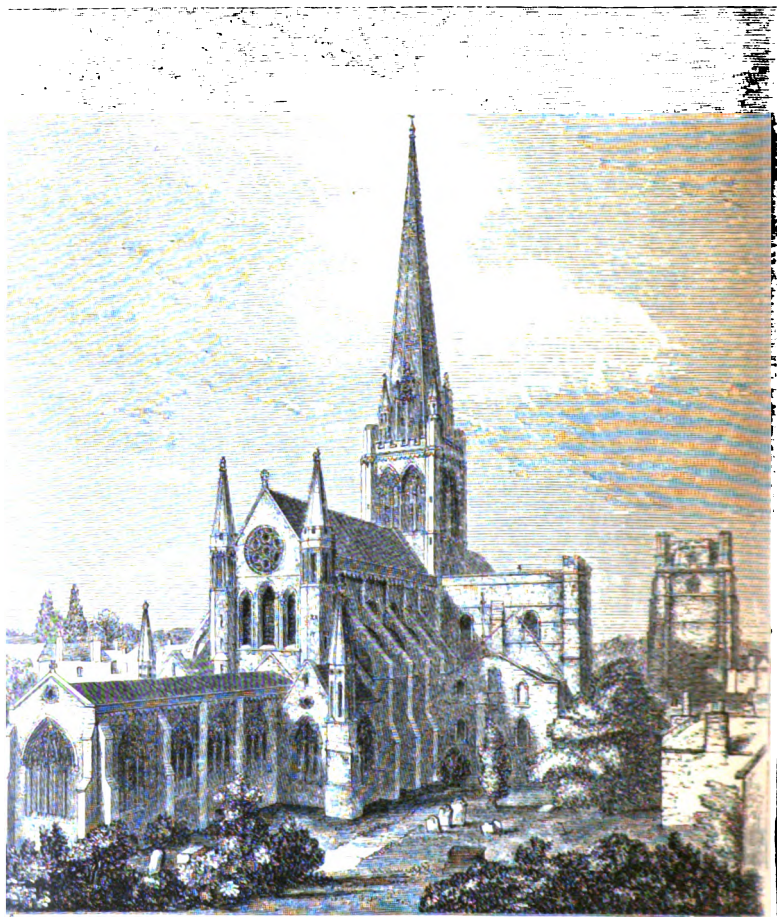
II. Much of this church remains in the existing cathedral. It again suffered from fire, however, in 1187; and on its restoration was greatly enlarged and altered by Bishop SEFFRID II. (1180—1204), who, says Fuller, “bestowed the cloth and making on the church, whilst Bishop Sherborne gave the trimming and best lace thereto, in the reign of Henry VII.” As far as the eastern termination of the choir the present church is

the work of Bishops RALPH and SEFFRID, with the exception of the two outer aisles of the nave, which were added in the middle of the thirteenth century, probably under Bishop NEVILLE (1223—1244). The retro-choir, of transitional character, belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century, and although it has been attributed to the same Bishop Seffrid II., who altered Ralph's cathedral, is certainly of later date. The Lady-chapel beyond is the work of Bishop GILBERT DE ST. LEOFARD (1288—1305). The central tower above the roof, dates from the first half, and the spire which surmounts it from the end, of the fourteenth century. The campanile, or detached bell-tower, was built by Bishop JOHN DE LANGTON (1305—1336). The "lace and trimmings" of Bishop SHERBORNE (1507—1536) appear in the upper portion of the choir-stalls, and in the decorations of the south transept.

III. The sole event of importance in the later history of the cathedral was its occupation by the Parliamentary troops after the taking of Chichester by Sir William Waller in 1643. The soldiers "brake down the organ, and dashed the pipes with their pole-axes, crying in scoff, 'Harke how the organs goe!'" and after the thanksgiving sermon for the fall of the city, which was preached in the cathedral, they "ran up and down with their swords drawn, defacing the monuments of the dead, and hacking the seats and stalls." Considerable repairs and restorations were made both within and without the building from 1843 to 1856; still more important alterations, by which the nave has been

FOR

-W-YON-



GENERAL VIEW FROM WEST STREET.

adapted for public worship, were completed in 1859; and extensive works are still (1860) in progress, under the direction of William Slater, Esq., which will be more particularly noticed as we proceed.

IV. The best general external views of the cathedral will be gained from the city wall to the north, from West-street [Plate I.], and from East-street looking west; the latter (in which Bishop Storey's cross groups with the cathedral) is a very picturesque and striking view, which should be looked out for toward sunset. An excellent distant prospect, backed by the Goodwood Downs, may be obtained from the road south of the city, after passing the railway-station.

V. We may now commence our survey of the cathedral,—“A very interesting pile on many accounts,” says Southey, “and much finer than books or common report had led me to expect.” Notwithstanding its small dimensions, the appearance of the church externally is pleasing, and it is even a question whether the central *spire* is not “better proportioned to the church it crowns, and of a more pleasing outline,” than the far more lofty one at Salisbury<sup>a</sup>, in imitation of which it is said to

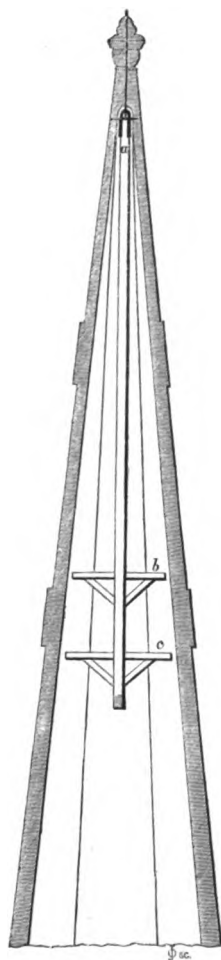
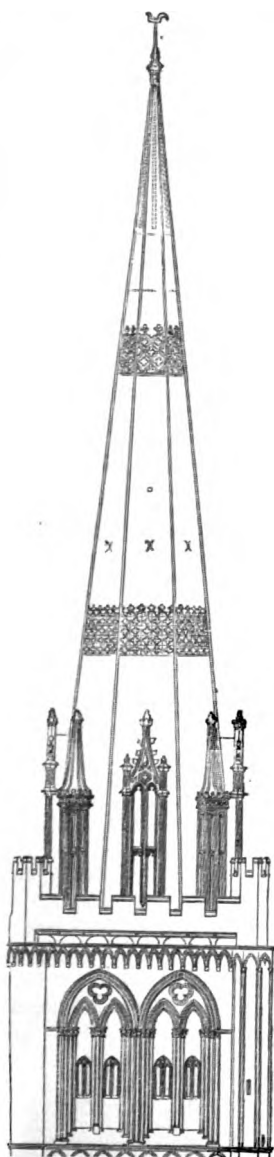
<sup>a</sup> “The angle at the summit is about thirteen degrees. At Salisbury, Norwich, Louth, and generally in all the tallest English spires, it is only ten degrees, which is certainly too slender. On the Continent, in the best examples, as at Cologne, Friburg, and others, it is about fifteen or sixteen degrees, which, unless the spire is of open-work, or very much ornamented, is, on the other hand, too low. As a general rule, it may be well to bear in mind that the spires of Continental churches have generally an angle of about one-sixth of a right angle at their apex; in Eng-

have been built<sup>b</sup>. It dates from the end of the fourteenth century, but it is uncertain under what bishop it was erected. [Plate II.] The spire is octagonal, having in each face a two-light window, flanked by buttresses, and is surrounded by two broad ornamental bands of very elegant design. The summit is 271 feet from the ground (the height of Salisbury is 404 feet). "In Salisbury and Chichester alone is there a visible centre and axis to the whole cathedral, viz. the summit of the spire and a line let fall from it to the ground. Salisbury was so constructed at first. Chichester spire was made exactly central, to an inch, by the additions of the Lady-chapel and the west porch. Michael Angelo's 'most perfect' outline, the pyramidal, is thus gained. The eye is carried upward to the spire-point from the chapels clustering at the base, along the roof and pinnacles, a result to which a certain squareness of detail in the abaci of the capitals of the nook-shafts which adorn the openings materially contributes<sup>c</sup>." The central *tower*, from which the spire rises, is early Decorated (geometrical), and may have been raised by Bishop JOHN DE LANGTON (1305—1336). The double

land of one-ninth. The spires of Chichester and Lichfield vary from twelve to thirteen degrees, or a mean between these two proportions, and from this circumstance are more pleasing than either."—*Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture*, p. 856.

<sup>b</sup> It is popularly said that the "master mason built Salisbury spire and his man Chichester spire." That of Salisbury was begun in 1335 and completed in 1375. See SALISBURY.

<sup>c</sup> Rev. P. Freeman, Transactions of the Sussex Archaeological Society, vol. i.



Sir Christopher Wren's  
plan for counteracting the  
force of the wind.



window-openings in each of its four sides are very graceful.

The upper part of the spire was taken down and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren; who, says his biographer Elmes, "fixed therein a pendulum stage to counteract the effects of the south and south-west gales of wind which act with considerable power against it, and had forced it from its perpendicularity." (See Plate II.) "To the finial is fastened a strong metal ring, and to that is suspended a large piece of yellow fir-timber (a), 10 feet long and 13 inches square; the masonry at the apex of the spire being from 9 inches to 6 inches thick, diminishing as it rises. The pendulum is loaded with iron, adding all its weight to the finial; and has two stout, solid oak floors,—the lower one (c) smaller by about 3, and the upper one (b) by about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, than the octagonal masonry that surrounds it. The effect in a storm is surprising and satisfactory. While the wind blows high against the vane and spire, the pendulum floor touches on the lee side, and its aperture is double on the windward: at the cessation, it oscillates slightly, and terminates in a perpendicular. The rest of the spire is quite clear of scaffolding. This contrivance is doubtless one of the most ingenious and appropriate of its great inventor's applications."

VI. The *west front*, originally Norman, is divided into three stories, surmounted by a gable. It is flanked by towers, of which that on the northern side has been destroyed (it is said, during the Rebellion) from the

first story upward. The southern tower has been enlarged by Early English buttresses; and is entirely Early English above the third story. The great west window, of early Decorated character, is modern. ~~The~~ central porch is Early English, and of the same date and character as the south porch which opens into the cloisters. In an elongated quatrefoil over the portal was the figure adopted as the arms of the see, commonly called a "Prester John seiant," but in reality the *Salvator Mundi*. This no longer exists. A north porch, also of Early English date, is nestled between the termination of the aisle and the north-west tower.

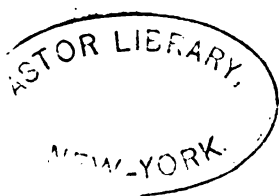
VII. On entering the *nave* the eye is at once caught by the five aisles, a peculiarity shared by no other English cathedral but that of Manchester, although some parish churches have it on a smaller scale, as Taunton and Coventry. On the Continent the increased number of aisles is common, witness Beauvais, Cologne, Milan, Seville, and seven-aisled Antwerp. Grand effects of light and shade are produced by these five aisles: remark especially the view from the extreme north-east corner of the north aisle, looking across the cathedral. [Plate III.] The great depth of the triforium shadows is owing to the unusual width of this wall passage. The breadth of the nave (91 feet) is greater than that of any other English cathedral except York (103 feet).

The first two stories of the south-west tower at the end of the nave deserve examination. The rude, long capitals, and plain circular arches, probably indicate



G. FENYTT. DEL. ET SC.

NAVE, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.



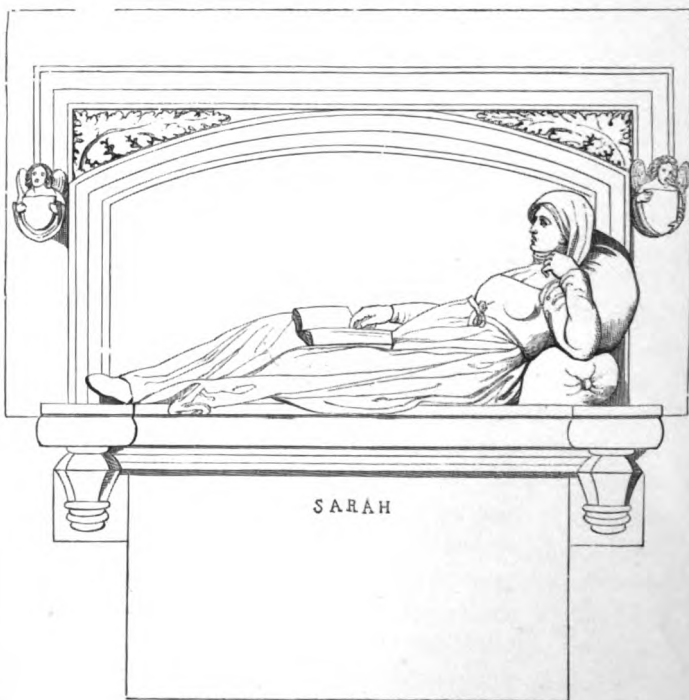
that it formed a part of the first church completed by Bishop Ralph, in 1108. The nave itself, as far as the top of the triforium, and the two aisles immediately adjoining, are the work of the same Bishop (died 1123),—or should perhaps be described as having formed part of the Norman cathedral completed in 1148. The clerestory above, and the shafts of Purbeck marble which lighten the piers, are Seffrid's additions (died 1204). The vaulting is perhaps somewhat later; and it was because it was determined, after the burning of 1187, to replace with a stone vault the wooden roofs to which the frequent fires had been owing, that Seffrid carried up his vaulting shafts along the face of the Norman piers, some of which he recased. The two exterior aisles, north and south, were probably added under Bishop NEVILLE (died 1244), when it became necessary to provide additional room for chantries and relic-shrines. The positions of the various altars are marked by the piscinas and aumbries in the walls. The two, however, occur together in the south aisle alone; in the north are aumbries only, an arrangement possibly resulting from the feeling with which that quarter was always anciently regarded. A certain triplicity pervades all this part of the cathedral, which was dedicated by Bishop Seffrid to the Holy Trinity. The side shafts are triple throughout. The bearing-shafts of the vaulting are clustered in threes, and branch out with three triple vaulting-ribs above. The transitional character of Bishop Seffrid's work is especially marked in the clerestory, the inner arcade of which

is pointed, whilst the windows themselves are round-headed.

VIII. The *stained glass* windows in the nave are all modern, and are perhaps more satisfactory than usual, in spite of the evident want of some uniform design. The two west windows are by Wailes; the larger one a memorial for Dean Chandler from the parishioners of All Souls', St. Marylebone, London, of which parish he was for many years rector. In the north aisle the memorial window for Sir Thomas Reynell is by O'Connor. The window over the doorway into the cloisters, representing the martyrdom of St. Stephen, is by Wailes, and very good.

IX. In the bay of the north aisle (see Plate III.), called the Arundel Chantry, is the altar-tomb of RICHARD FITZ-ALAN, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (beheaded 1397), and his countess. This tomb was restored in 1843 by Richardson, the 'repairer' of the effigies in the Temple Church. The Arundel figures had been sadly mutilated, and were lying in different parts of the aisle. The tomb does not seem to have been originally placed in the cathedral, and it has been suggested that the effigies were removed from the church of the Grey Friars, now the Guildhall of Chichester, to which the Earls of Arundel were great benefactors. Earl Richard was one of the most powerful adherents of the Duke of Gloucester, uncle of Richard II., and his fall took place at the same time with that of the Duke. It was the tomb of this Earl that Richard II. caused to be opened after his interment, it being "bruited abroad for a



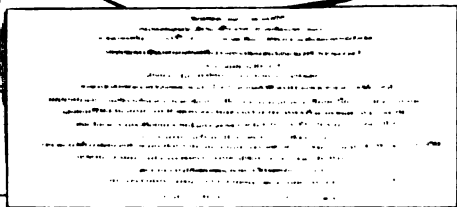


MONUMENT BY FLAXMAN.





98.



miracle that his head should be growne to his body again<sup>d</sup>."

At the end of this aisle, in' the chapel of the Baptist, is the tomb of an *unknown lady*, happily unrestored, and of extreme beauty. It is of the best Decorated period. A plaster 'restoration' may be seen at the Sydenham Palace.

The statue of Huskisson, in the same aisle, is by CAREW. A memorial window to the same statesman (who purchased Earham from the poet Hayley, and for some time resided there) has been placed above it.

X. The nave is rich in monuments by FLAXMAN, none of which are obtrusive, and one or two of much beauty. [Plates IV., V.] The best are in the *north aisle*. Remark especially that of WILLIAM COLLINS the poet, who was born in Chichester on Christmas-day, 1719, and who died in a house adjoining the cloisters in 1759. He was buried in St. Andrew's Church, and the present monument was placed in the cathedral by subscription. The poet is bending over the New Testament. "I have but one book," he said to Dr. Johnson, who visited Collins at Islington in the last year of his life, at which time the attacks of frenzy had all but destroyed him, "but that is the best." "The Passions" lie at his feet. The inscription,—

"where Collins' hapless name  
Solicits kindness with a double claim,"—

is the joint production of Hayley and Sargent.

<sup>d</sup> Holinshed.

In the *south aisle* remark the monument of **AENEAS CROMWELL**, a graceful figure borne upwards by floating angels; and that of **JANE SMITH**. Mr. Ruskin's judgment on the artist need not, perhaps, be considered as final: "There was **Flaxman**, another naturally great man, with as true an eye for nature as **Raphael**; he stumbles over the blocks of the antique statues, wanders in the dark valley of their ruins to the end of his days. He has left you a few outlines of muscular men straddling and frowning behind round shields. Much good may they do you! Another lost mind\*."

XI. From the nave we pass into the *south transept*, [Frontispiece], of the same architectural character, with the exception of the very beautiful *south window*, which is the work of Bishop **LANGTON** (1305—1338), and one of the finest examples of early Decorated in England. It was no doubt inserted by Bishop Langton as a mark of reverence for the shrine of **St. Richard**, which stood opposite the window, and to which pilgrims, at the time of its erection, were finding their way from all parts of England. The stained glass was destroyed by Waller's pikemen. Beneath it is Bishop Langton's tomb, much mutilated, but still shewing traces of colour. The modern tomb beside it, that of **JOHN SMITH, Esq.**, of Dale Park, is at least an attempt in a good direction.

On the north side, adjoining the choir, is a very important tomb, which is in all probability that of **RICHARD DE LA WYCH** (1245—1253), the sainted Bishop of Chichester (see Part II.) The translation of **St. Richard's**

\* Lectures on Architecture and Painting.

relics took place in 1276, during the episcopate of Stephen de Berkstead, in the presence of Edward I., his Queen, and Court. From this time his shrine became one of the most honoured in the south of England, and numerous offerings at it are recorded. The tomb is one of Richardson's restorations, the small figures in the niches being entirely new. It seems later than the date of the Bishop's translation, and Professor Willis has questioned its right to figure as the shrine of St. Richard, although it is difficult to appropriate the tomb more satisfactorily. When it was opened for recent repairs, fragments of hazel wands and branches were found lying on the surface, such as pilgrims, having cut by the way, used to suspend round the shrine for which they were bound. These, together with pieces of glass and other vessels, were probably thrown back in disorder either after the destruction of the shrine by Henry the Eighth's commissioners, or after the Bishop's tomb had been violated by Waller's troops.

XII. The remarkable decorations of this transept are part of Bishop **SHERBORNE's** (died 1536) "lace-work," and exhibit on the east wall portraits of the bishops of Selsey and Chichester from the commencement. A singular family likeness runs through the series, which is quite as edifying and authentic as that of the kings of Scotland in the Holyrood Gallery, on the uniform shape of whose noses Mr. Crystal Croftangry was wont to speculate. On the opposite wall are the monarchs of England from the Conqueror, and above them a picture in two compartments, representing Ceadwalla be-

stowing the monastery of Selsey on St. Wilfrid, and the confirmation of this grant to the cathedral made by Henry VIII. to Bishop Sherborne. In this the costume and accompaniments are all of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Ceadwalla is represented by the figure of Henry VII., who, like his son and successor, was Bishop Sherborne's patron. The artist was Theodore Bernardi, a member of an Italian family long resident in the Low Countries, and which at this time was settled in Chichester under the Bishop's patronage<sup>1</sup>.

XIII. The railed portion of this transept is used as an ecclesiastical court. The *sacristy*, of Early English date, is entered from the transept. In it is a very ancient oak chest, eight feet long. There is nothing about the wood-work to contradict the tradition that it is of Saxon workmanship, and we might fairly believe that it was brought from Selsey at the removal of the see, were it not that some portions of the iron-work display thirteenth-century forms. This, however,

<sup>1</sup> The history of this family in connection with certain remains of painting and sculpture in Chichester and its neighbourhood, deserves examination. Besides the paintings on the vaulting of the cathedral (noticed in § XVIII.), there are others of similar character in Boxgrove Church. The Delawarr tomb in the same church offers some unusual peculiarities, such as perhaps indicate a foreign artist: and in the churches of West Hampnett, Selsey, and West Wittering, are monuments the design of which is remarkable and very un-English. All these belong to the early part of the sixteenth century, and may not impossibly have been the work of one or other of the Bernardis, who seem to have been skilled in more than one branch of art, as was then usual.

may be later addition. The ancient *Consistory Court*, over the south porch, is entered by a spiral staircase in the nave, close without the transept. It is late Perpendicular, and contains the original president's chair, which deserves attention. A sliding panel opens from this room into another, called the "Lollards' Prison," but which served in reality as the treasury and evidence-chamber.

XIV. Crossing the church we enter the *north transept*, which was long used as the parish church of St. Peter. It has been suggested that the plain western arch between this transept and its aisle may be of Saxon date, and have formed part of the monastic church of St. Peter, which served as the cathedral before Bishop Ralph built his. The fact, however, that the site for the new cathedral was granted by Hugh de Montmorency, proves that it could not have been built on that of the monastery. The arch may be a relic of Bishop Ralph's first church, completed in 1108. A chapel opening eastward from this transept has sometimes been called the chapter-house, but without any evidence that it really was so. It is transitional, with a central pillar. The zigzag ornament occurs in the groining ribs.

XV. The *choir* was formerly separated from the nave by a stone screen of Perpendicular work, known as Bishop ARUNDEL's (1458—1478) "Oratory." It had been much mutilated, and was in a bad state of repair; and in order to adapt the nave as well as the choir for divine service, this screen was removed in 1859. It will,

however, be replaced in some other part of the cathedral, as soon as the alterations now (1860) in progress are completed. The choir itself [Plate VI.], long and narrow (105 feet long, 59 feet broad), and extending westward under the central tower, is the original Norman work, and was perhaps the last portion of the Norman church completed. At the time of its erection the elongated form afterwards generally adopted had already come into use, and it was not necessary to rebuild it, as was the case with the shorter Norman choirs of Canterbury and Rochester. The restoration of the choir, commenced in 1859, is still in progress. Galleries which filled up the side arches, a range of high pews, the unsightly modern wood-work of the stalls and bishop's throne, together with a high wooden reredos, of Perpendicular date, but much mutilated, have been entirely removed. The side arches will be filled with screens of iron-work, corresponding in design with some fragments of ancient screens found on removing the galleries. The ancient portion of the stalls, consisting of the canopies and back seats, will be replaced; the fronts of the stalls and the choristers' seats will be new, and carved with a great variety of plants mentioned in Scripture. The bishop's throne will be new; and a new stone reredos will take the place of that removed. The floor will be laid with marble, the space before the altar being in mosaic. The organ will be placed behind the stalls, under the north arch of the central tower.

On commencing these restorations, it was found that



W. SLATER. del.

G. JENNY. sc.

THE CHOIR.  
(AS RESTORED.)



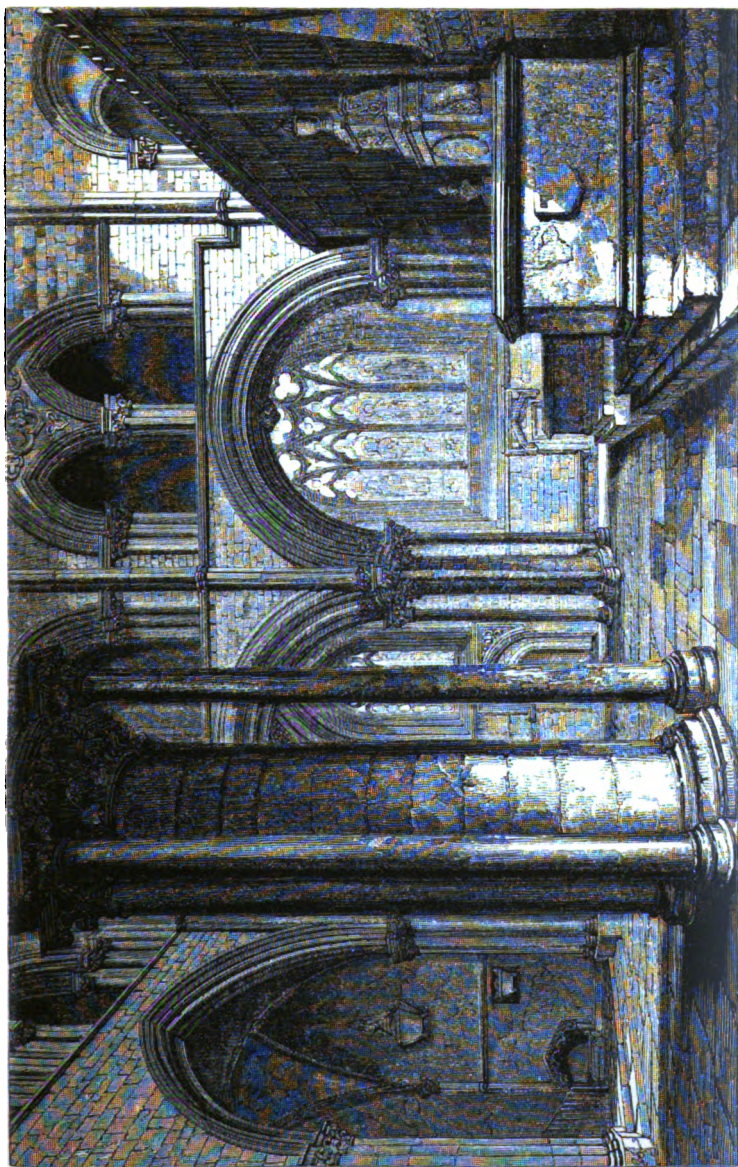
the piers of the central tower were very insecure,—owing apparently, in the first place, to the imperfect manner in which Bishop Seffrid's casing of stone was bonded into the Norman rubble-work which forms the body of the piers. The erection of the spire was of course a farther source of danger; and on the construction of the western stalls by Bishop Sherborne, the lower portions of the south-west and north-west piers were cut away; so that the superincumbent mass of masonry remained propped up only by some pieces of timber. The result has been that the whole mass of the tower, with the parts adjacent, has gradually sunk; fractures have taken place in the arch and east end of the south nave-aisle; there are others of greater magnitude in the piers themselves; and the arches of the triforium in the eastern bay of the nave are much crippled. All this mischief will now be remedied as far as possible. Portions of the piers will be rebuilt; and, throughout the choir, carved capitals will be re-inserted where the old ones have been destroyed. The whole work is under the superintendence of Mr. Slater.

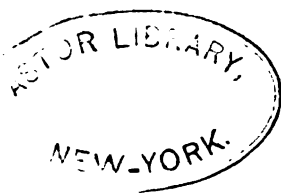
XVI. Returning into the north transept, we pass up the *north choir-aisle*, in which are three memorial windows, the best being WILLEMENT's, for F. E. Freeland, Esq. The large tomb under its canopy is said to be that of Bishop DE MOLEYNS (1445—1449), counsellor of Henry VI., who was murdered at Portsmouth. (See Part II.)

Bishop Seffrid's adaptation of the Norman church terminates at the end of the choir. . The *retro-choir* [Plate

VII.], which we now enter, is an excellent specimen of the completed Transition. It dates early in the 13th century, but is certainly later than the episcopate of SEFFRID II. (died 1204), to whom it is usually assigned. "The pier-arches are still circular, not because the use of the pointed arch was not understood, for the eastern arch, though of the same age, is completely pointed. If the space to be enclosed had been a little longer, and had therefore required three bays, or a little shorter, so as to have been divided into narrower spaces, pointed arches would have been employed. The architects adopted, in fact, whichever of the two forms best suited their immediate purpose. It had not in those days become a dogma that architectural beauty could only be produced by the use of the pointed arch<sup>6</sup>." The use, or what may almost be called the abuse, of Purbeck marble, which English architects indulged in at this period, is also well shewn in this part of the cathedral. "From about the year 1175 till past the middle of the thirteenth century, no mode of decoration was in such favour in England as the employment of small detached shafts of this material applied to the sides of the stone constructive piers of the building. When the whole of the architecture was painted in rich but opaque colours, the polished shafts of dark marble must have afforded a beautiful contrast. Subsequently the more brilliant colours of the painted glass eclipsed the effect of marble shafts, on which the unconstructiveness of this mode led to its abandonment. In Chichester

<sup>6</sup> Fergusson's *Hist. of Architecture*, p. 854.





Cathedral the shafts are farther detached than in any other known example, from the piers, which are of the same costly material<sup>h</sup>." How far the result is pleasing the visitor may determine for himself. The experiment, at all events, was never repeated. Remark the rich Corinthian foliage on the capitals both of the shafts and piers. The union of the circular and pointed styles is well seen in the triforium, which illustrates the remarks of Mr. Fergusson, already quoted. The bosses of the vaulting-ribs deserve notice, especially an extraordinary composition of six human faces in the south aisle.

XVII. The *monuments* at the back of the altar-screen are those of Bishop HENRY KING, the poet—(1642—1669), whose father, John King, Bishop of London, was James the First's "King of preachers:" it was during this Bishop's lifetime that the cathedral was "set to rights" by the Puritans (see Part II.),—Bishop GROVE (1696), and Bishop CARLTON (1705). The plain tomb on the north side is that of Bishop STORY (1478—1503), the builder of the market-cross in the city. The trefoil on the pavement adjoining, within which two hands support a heart, is inscribed "Ici gist le cœur Maud de . . . ." the lady's name being undecipherable. On the south side is the tomb of Bishop DAY (died 1556).

XVIII. The eastern end of the retro-choir is terminated by three lancet windows, with a circular window in the gable above them. Externally it is flanked by

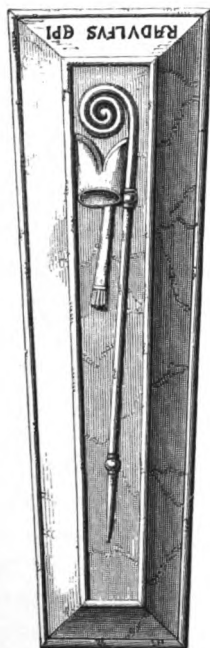
<sup>h</sup> Fergusson, *ut sup.*

two octagonal turrets of good design, from which rise small spires.

Passing under the eastern arch, we enter the *Lady-chapel*, the work of Bishop GILBERT DE ST. LEOPARD (1288—1305). In entering, remark a coped tomb, with the words "Radulphus Episcopus" at its west end. [Plate VIII.] This has been thought, and perhaps rightly, to belong to Bishop RALPH, the founder of the original Norman church. Opposite are two similar tombs, called those of Bishops SEFFRID and HILARY. Both are uncertain.

On the vaulting of the ante-room is a fragment of the painting with which the whole of the cathedral roofs were decorated by Bishop Sherborne. All the rest has been scraped off. Like the transept pictures, it is the work of Theodore Bernardi, and may be compared with the roof-paintings in the church of St. Jacques at Liège, which are of similar character.

The beautiful Lady-chapel has been spoilt as far as possible. The flooring has been raised in order to provide room for the Duke of Richmond's vault, which ranges beneath it. The east window has been closed up, and the others partly hidden. In the chapel is now arranged the *chapter library*, a good collection, among the treasures of which are Cranmer's copy of the Service-book of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, with his autograph and numerous manuscript notes, and Eustathius on Homer, with the manuscript notes of Salmasius. There are no early manuscripts of importance. Some antiquities discovered during the recent



TOMB OF BISHOP RALPH.



restorations are preserved here. Among them are fragments of sculpture; two curious shoes; ancient combs; and a number of flooring tiles, shewing excellent patterns. Here are also a quantity of tiles, 16 inches long by 2 inches wide, found in repairing the soffits of the choir arcades. They were no doubt used in Bishop Ralph's Norman cathedral (1108—1123), and are curious examples of building tiles of that period. In a case against the wall are preserved some interesting relics, discovered in 1829 in the stone coffins of two early bishops, which then stood under the choir-arches. The most remarkable are a silver chalice and paten, with gold knobs and ornaments, of the twelfth century, and perhaps marking the tomb of Bishop SEFFRID II. (died 1204). In this coffin was found a talismanic thumb-ring—an agate set in gold, and engraved with gnostic devices. Similar talismans have been found in the tombs of early crusaders, both here and on the Continent. With this ring, three others of great beauty, set with emeralds and sapphires, and found at the same time, are also preserved in the Library. The other coffin was that of GOSFRID (1087—1088) second Bishop of Chichester. It contained the leaden cross exhibited in the library. This is inscribed with a papal absolution, from which it appears that some complaint against the Bishop had been carried to the court of Rome. Of this, however, nothing is known. Gosfrid was consecrated by Archbishop Lanfranc.

XIX. In the *chapel* (Early English), at the end of

- the *south choir-aisle*, is a bust of Bishop OTTER, by TOWNE. The east window of this chapel claims to have been the first modern memorial window erected in England. It was placed here in 1842 by the late Dean Chandler, but a second window has since been substituted by Wailes for the first, with the design of which the artist became dissatisfied. To the example thus set by the Dean the cathedral is indebted for the riches of its stained glass, now of unusual quantity.

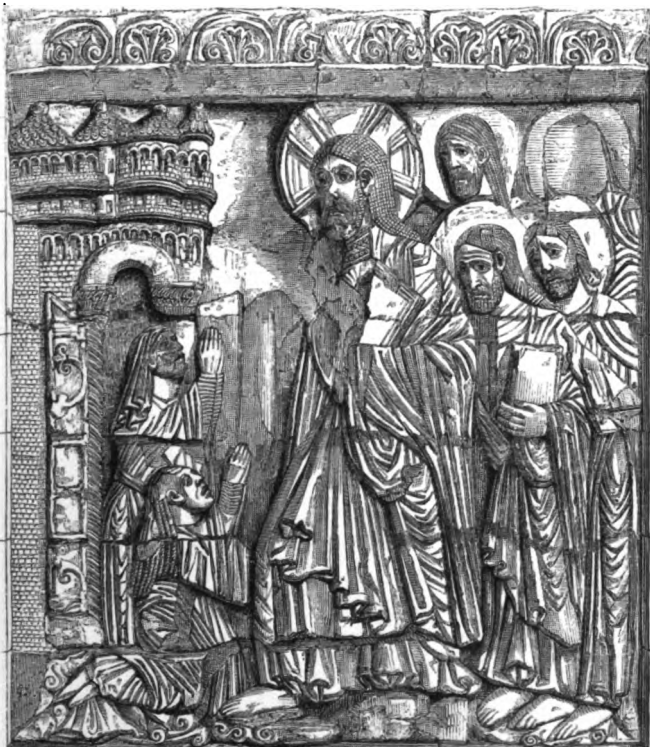
XX. In the wall of the south choir-aisle, east of the transept, are fixed *two sculptured slabs*, of very unusual character, said to have been removed from Selsey. Casts of them may be seen in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. The subjects are the raising of Lazarus and the meeting of the Saviour with Martha and Mary. [Plates IX., X.] These slabs were discovered in 1829 behind the stalls of the choir, where they had been long concealed. They are probably of early Norman date, though the costume and arrangement seem to indicate a foreign artist. A certain Byzantine character may be traced in the management of the hair and beards, in the narrow folds of the draperies, and perhaps in the tall slender figures. The hollows in the eyes may have been filled with crystals or enamel. Two remarkable fragments of sculpture in Sompting Church, near Chichester, representing the Saviour in judgment, and a kneeling bishop, may be compared with these in the cathedral.

Between these slabs is the tomb of Bishop SHERBORNE (1507—1536), lately restored by the society



SCULPTURE IN THE SOUTH CHOIR AISLE—THE RAISING  
OF LAZARUS.

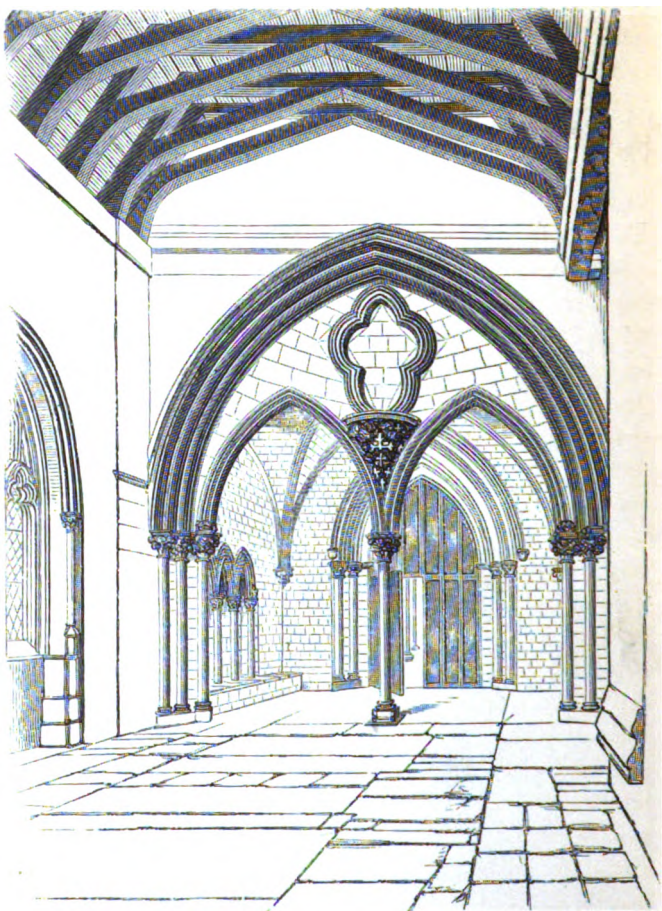




SCULPTURE IN THE SOUTH CHOIR AISLE.—THE MEETING OF  
THE SAVIOUR WITH MARTHA AND MARY.



NEW-YORK.



ENTRANCE FROM THE CLOISTERS.

of New College, Oxford, in whose charge it was left.

XXI. Returning to the nave, we pass into the cloisters through an Early English *porch* in the south aisle, of very similar character to that of the western front. [Plate XI.] A large Early English arch circumscribes two smaller ones, divided by a single shaft. In the space above is an elongated quatrefoil once containing a figure, the bracket for supporting which fills the opening between the two arches below. It is composed of Early English foliage, among which many small crosses are inserted;—possibly in allusion to the crusade. A graceful arcade lines the interior of the porch. The *cloisters* are Perpendicular, and their wooden roof deserves notice. The position of the cloisters, lying eastward under the transept and choir, instead of westward along the nave, is altogether unusual. Their form is very irregular. There is no north walk; and the three sides are of unequal length. The east walk opens into the retro-choir. The cloisters should be walked round for the sake of the exterior views of the cathedral to be obtained from them. The south transept window is best seen here. Above it is a circular window with very beautiful tracery, lighting the space between the roofs. The Norman windows of the aisles, now closed, may also be traced here: the walls themselves, according to Professor Willis, afford evidence that the east end of the chancel was originally circular, the ordinary Norman type.

Over a doorway in the *south cloister* is a shield with

the arms of Henry VII., together with two robed figures kneeling before the Virgin, who is supported by an angel holding a rose. This marks the house of the king's chaplains, who served a chantry founded by Henry V. for his own soul, for those of his father and mother, and for that of Nicholas Mortimer. It is now a private residence.

Beyond, but still in the south wall, is a tablet to the memory of WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, the champion of Protestantism, who died here (1643) after the capture of Arundel Castle, where he had suffered much during the siege. He was buried in this cloister, and Cheynell, a Puritan grand inquisitor, appeared at the grave with Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants," which he flung into it "to rot with its author and see corruption," accompanying his proceeding with a speech that Torquemada might have envied. Like most impartial writers, Chillingworth shared the fate of the bat in the fable, and was cordially recognised by neither party. The last lines of the inscription on his monument—

*"Sub hoc marmore conditur  
Nec sentit damna sepulchri"—*

are said to be a later addition. The original inscription, written by a friend of Chillingworth's soon after the Restoration, contained a special allusion to Cheynell, in which he was styled "Theologaster." His son got into the cloister at night, and defaced it with a pickaxe.

XXII. At the south-east angle of the cloisters is the

*Chapel of St. Faith*, founded early in the fourteenth century. It is now a dwelling-house, distinguished only by two heavy buttresses. Within, one or two deeply-splayed windows are traceable.

XXIII. The *episcopal palace* opens from the west end of the cloisters. The chapel is late Early English, with some additions. The ceiling of the dining-hall is painted with coats of arms and initials, attributed to Bernardi, the manufacturer of Bishop Sherborne's "lace" in the cathedral.

XXIV. The *bell-tower*, or *campanile*, on the north side of the cathedral, was built under Bishop LANGTON (1305—1338). Its height is 120 feet; and it covers a square of 56 feet; the upper story being an octagon, supported by octagonal turrets. \* It is the only existing English example of a detached bell-tower adjoining a cathedral, though there are many instances of it in parish churches. One very similar to this, however, remained at Salisbury until the early part of the present century, when it was taken down by Wyatt the destructive. The stone of which the Chichester campanile is built is from the Isle of Wight quarries near Ventnor. The summit commands a good view of the town and cathedral, the light and graceful spire of which contrasts admirably with the square mass of the bell-tower.

# CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

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## PART II.

### *History of the See, with Notices of the principal Bishops.*

THE kingdom of the South Saxons, the second settlement effected by the Saxons in England, was the last to receive Christianity. In the year 477, twenty-seven years after the arrival of Hengist, Ælle and his three sons, according to the Saxon Chronicle, made good their landing at a place called Cymens-ore, probably Wittering, on the eastern side of Chichester harbour. In 490, Anderida, the Roman-British town and fortress which protected this part of the coast, the walls of which may still be seen at Pevensey, was taken by Ælle and his son Cissa; who, says the chronicler, "slew all that dwelt therein, nor was there thenceforth one Brit left." From this date the South Sexes must have occupied the whole line of coast from Chichester eastward to the marshes of Kent.

Isolated by these marshes, and by the great primæval forest of Anderida (the name, according to Dr. Guest, signifies the "uninhabited district"), which covered the whole of Sussex north of the chalk downs, and extended into Kent on one side and into Hampshire on the other, the South Saxons remained pagans long after the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent in 597, and of St. Birinus in Wessex in 635. Little or nothing is recorded of them

\* *A*, the Celtic negative particle, and *ted*, a dwelling.

or of their kingdom until, about the year 650, the famous Wilfrid of Northumbria, on his return from France, where he had gone to receive canonical consecration as archbishop of York<sup>b</sup>, was driven by a storm upon their coast. "The Saxon pirates had become merciless wreckers; they thought everything cast by the winds and the sea on their coasts their undoubted property, the crew and passengers of vessels driven on shore their lawful slaves. They attacked the stranded bark with the utmost ferocity; the crew of Wilfrid made a gallant resistance. It was a strange scene. On one side the Christian prelate and his clergy were kneeling aloof in prayer; on the other, a pagan priest was encouraging the attack, by what both parties supposed powerful enchantments. A fortunate stone from a sling struck the priest on the forehead, and put an end to his life and his magic. But his fall only exasperated the barbarians. Thrice they renewed the attack, and thrice were beaten off. The prayers of Wilfrid became more urgent, more needed, more successful. The tide came in, the wind shifted, the vessel got to sea, and reached Sandwich. At a later period of his life Wilfrid nobly revenged himself on this inhospitable people by labouring, and with success, in their conversion to Christianity<sup>c</sup>."

Wilfrid's second appearance among the South Saxons occurred about the year 680, after his flight from Northumbria. The South Saxon king, Ædilwalch, was at this time, nominally at least, a Christian; having been baptized at the persuasion of Wulfhere of Mercia, who had made him a grant of the entire Island of Wight. His Queen, Eabba, had also abjured paganism. The people, however, were still fierce worshippers of Thor and Odin; and

<sup>b</sup> Except Wini, Bishop of Winchester, none of the English bishops were considered by Wilfrid as having been canonically consecrated; the rest were Scots, who rejected the Roman discipline concerning Easter and the tonsure.

<sup>c</sup> Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. p. 77.

although Wilfrid found at Bosham a small religious house encircled by woods and by the sea (*sylvis et mari circumdatum*), consisting of five or six brethren ruled by a Scot named Dicul, this little body of Christians had made no impression whatever on the surrounding heathens<sup>d</sup>. The condition of the entire district was fearful. No rains, according to Bede, had fallen for three years before Wilfrid's arrival. A great famine had been the result, and the South Saxons, linking themselves together in companies of forty or fifty, sought an end to their miseries by throwing themselves into the sea. Though a maritime people, on a long line of sea-coast, they were ignorant of the art of fishing, which Wilfrid accordingly began his labours by teaching them, thus enabling them to provide for themselves a constant supply of food<sup>e</sup>. The baptism of the chiefs and principal leaders speedily followed; on the first day of which, says Bede, rain fell in plenty, and the earth once more became fruitful. The people abjured their old religion in masses. The peninsula of Selsey—the "Seals' Island,"

<sup>d</sup> Beda, H. E., lib. iv. c. 13. Traditions of the Brito-Roman Christianity which had been swept away by Ælle and his followers existed to a late period in Sussex. In the year 1058, a Flemish vessel, having on board a monk of Bergue St. Winoc, named Balger, was driven into the haven of Seaford. The monk found his way to a neighbouring monastery, dedicated to St. Andrew, the site of which is unknown; and, *fidelis fur et latro bonus*, stole from it the relics of St. Lewinna, who is described as one of the early British converts in Sussex. The story has been told at length, from the *Acta Sanctorum*, by Mr. Blaauw, in the Sussex Archaeological Collections, i. p. 46.

<sup>e</sup> "Nam et antistes, cum venisset in provinciam tantamque ibi famis pœnam videret, decuit eos piscando victum quærere; namque mare et flumina eorum piscibus abundabant, sed piscandi peritia genti nulla, nisi ad anguillas tantum, inerat. Collectis ergo undecumque retibus anguillaribus, homines antistitis miserunt in mare, et divina se juvante gratia, mox cepere pisces diversi generis trecentos; quibus trifariam divisit, centum pauperibus dederunt, centum his a quibus retia acceperant, centum in suos usus habebant."—*Beda, H. E.*, lib. iv. cap. 13.

a *terra* of eighty-seven families, among whom were 200 serfs, who were all made free men on their baptism—was granted to Wilfrid by King Ædilwalch, and a monastery was built on it, into which the exiled bishop collected such of his followers as, like himself, had been compelled to leave Northumbria. In this southern house Oswald, the sainted king of Northumbria, was especially revered.

Wilfrid thus became the first bishop of the South Saxons; and Selsey continued to be the chief place of the see, until the period of the Conquest. On the death of Egfrid of Northumbria, Wilfrid was reinstated in his northern bishopric. During his five years' labours in the south, his first patron, Ædilwalch, had fallen in battle with Ceadwalla, a youth of the royal house of Wessex, who had long lived as an outlaw in the great woods of Chiltern and Anderida, and who had been assisted by Wilfrid during the period of his obscurity. After Ceadwalla's accession to power, Wilfrid became his chief counsellor, and undertook, by his permission, the conversion of the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, which, as well as the district of the Meon-ware<sup>s</sup> on the main-land, had fallen into the hands of Ceadwalla. The foundation of some of the principal churches in this district—those of the two Meons among them—is still traditionally attributed to Wilfrid.

[A.D. 700—1070.] After Wilfrid's departure, the newly Christianized province of Sussex was for some years imperfectly watched over by the bishops of Winchester. In 709, Eadbert, abbot of the monastery at Selsey, was consecrated to the South Saxon bishopric by Archbishop Nothelm. Eadbert was succeeded by a series of twenty

<sup>f</sup> So Bede. The dates, however, are very confused, and the number of years during which Wilfrid remained in Sussex is not quite certain.

<sup>s</sup> This is the strip of land within the Hampshire border through which the Hamble river runs, and in which are the parishes of East and West Meon, retaining the ancient name.

bishops, of whom little more than the names is recorded. The last Bishop of Selsey was **ETHELRIC**, a Benedictine of Christ Church, Canterbury; whose knowledge of the ancient law and customs of his country was so great that, together with Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, he was appointed to arbitrate between Odo, Earl of Kent, and Archbishop Lanfranc, who had claimed certain manors from the Earl as belonging to his see. The question was decided in a great meeting on Pinenden Heath, near Maidstone, to which place the Bishop of Selsey, infirm and of great age, was conveyed in a waggon drawn by oxen. The Archbishop recovered his manors. Bishop Ethelric shared the fate of other Saxon prelates. He was deprived of his see in a synod held at Windsor in 1070, and imprisoned (on what pretext is unknown) at Marlborough.

[A.D. 1070—1087.] **STIGAND**, Chaplain of the Conqueror, was appointed in the room of Ethelric. In accordance with a decree of the Council of London (1075), which directed that bishops' sees should no longer remain in villages and small towns, Stigand removed the chief place of the Saxon bishopric from Selsey to Chichester, where it has ever since remained<sup>b</sup>. The south-west quarter of the city, in which stood the monastery of St. Peter, was assigned to the Churchmen; the castle, with its enclosures, occupied the north-east quarter. The church of St. Peter's monastery became the new cathedral. The decree of the Council of London refers to the Councils of Sardica and Laodicea, which "prohibited the having bishops' sees in villages;" but there can be little doubt that the change was greatly

<sup>b</sup> For the site of the Saxon cathedral and monastery at Selsey all search will now be in vain. The village of Selsey, now about half a mile from the sea, is traditionally said to have been once in the centre of the peninsula. The old cathedral, the site of which is now covered with water, is said to have lain about a mile east of the present church; and so rapidly has the sea encroached within the last three centuries, that even in Camden's time the foundations were uncovered at low water.

owing to the insecure condition of the open country after the Conquest, which rendered the protection of strong walls essential.

[A.D. 1087—1088.] GOSFRID, Stigand's successor, was consecrated by Lanfranc. Of his life nothing is known. The leaden cross found in his coffin, and now preserved in the Library, has been noticed in Pt. I. § XVIII.

[A.D. 1091—1123.] RALPH LUFFA was the founder of the existing cathedral. (See Pt. I. §§ I., II., VII.) The birth and origin of Bishop Ralph are unknown. According to Malmesbury, his strength and tall stature (*proceritas corporis*) were equalled by the firm resolution of his mind, which enabled him to withstand William Rufus in the interest of Archbishop Anselm; whose struggle on the question of investitures was zealously supported by Bishop Ralph. The decree of Henry I., by which married priests were permitted to retain their wives on payment of a fine, was resisted by this bishop; who laid his diocese under an interdict until the king withdrew all pretension to collect any tax from the married clergy within its limits. Three times in the year he preached throughout his diocese<sup>1</sup>; and raised his see from a state of great poverty to one of order and importance. He left all his goods to the poor, directing their distribution in his own sight as he lay on his death-bed. His tomb, at the entrance of the Lady-chapel, is noticed Pt. I. § XVIII.

[A.D. 1125—1145.] SEFFRID PELOCHIN, or SEFFRID I. (the name is identical with the more usual form Sigefrid), Abbot of Glastonbury, and brother of Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed in 1145 (why is unknown), and died in 1151.

[A.D. 1148—1169.] HILARY was originally attached to the household of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, to

<sup>1</sup> "Ter omni anno diocesin suam causâ prædicandi circuibat; nihil episcopali potestate a provincialibus suis exigens, sed quæ offerabantur gratabundus accipiens."—*Malmesbury*.

whom he owed his advancement. It was this bishop who, when Archbishop Becket and the other prelates, at a council held at Westminster, agreed to observe the customs of the realm in all things "saving their order," promised to observe them "in good faith;" a change of words for which Hilary was severely rebuked by Becket.

[A.D. 1174—1180.] JOHN DE GREENFORD had been Dean of Chichester before his election.

[A.D. 1180—1204.] SEFFRID II., like his predecessor, had been Dean of Chichester. The Norman church of Bishop Ralph, which in 1187 had been greatly injured by fire, together with the greater part of the city of Chichester, was restored and altered by this bishop. (See Pt. I. §§ II., VII.) Bishop Seffrid assisted at the coronation of King John in 1199.

[A.D. 1204—1207.] SIMON DE WELLES.

[A.D. 1209—1214.] NICHOLAS DE AQUILA.

[A.D. 1215—1217.] RICHARD POORE, Dean of Salisbury, was translated to Salisbury in 1217. He was the builder of the cathedral there. (See SALISBURY.)

[A.D. 1217—1222.] RALPH DE WARHAM.

[A.D. 1223—1244.] RALPH NEVILLE, Chancellor of England from the year of his election to 1238, was chosen successively Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester, but was never confirmed in the possession of either dignity. He died Bishop of Chichester in 1244. As Chancellor his reputation for justice and integrity stood unusually high. "*Erat regis fidelissimus Cancellarius*," says Matthew Paris, "*et inconcussa columna veritatis; singulis sua jura, præcipue pauperibus, juste reddens et indilate.*" He did much for his cathedral; the Early English portions of which are probably to be assigned to him.

[A.D. 1245—1253.] RICHARD DE LA WYCH, the sainted Bishop of Chichester, and the great patron of the city, succeeded. The canons of Chichester had elected Robert Passelew, a favourite of the King (Henry III.) But his

election was annulled by the pope (the bull asserts on account of his want of learning), and Richard de la Wych was consecrated. He is said to have been born at Droitwich in Worcestershire, from the salt-springs (locally called *wyches*) of which place he derived his surname\*. De la Wych, who had early assumed the black robe and white scapular of the Dominicans,—the new Order which was gathering to itself the most ardent and energetic minds of Western Europe,—was educated at Oxford, Paris, and Bologna; and on his return to England became Chancellor, first of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards of the University of Oxford. He was consecrated to the see of Chichester at Lyons, during the sitting of the Council there, in the year 1245, by Pope Innocent IV. himself, who at the same time consecrated Boniface of Savoy to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and Roger of Weseham to the see of Lichfield. Henry III., incensed at the rejection of his favourite, seized the revenues of the see, and for two years Bishop De la Wych was obliged to depend on the benevolence of others for the means of subsistence. The revenues were restored after the King had been threatened with excommunication by Pope Innocent. In the work of his diocese, in preaching (the especial duty of his Order), and in visiting, Bishop De la Wych was indefatigable. He died (April 3, 1253) in the Maison Dieu, at Dover, where he had rested while preaching the Crusade along the coast. His canonization (partly the result of the great influence and activity of the Order to which the Bishop belonged, and partly due, no doubt, to the principles he maintained during his lifetime<sup>1</sup>) was de-

\* A later tradition asserted that these *wyches* had been miraculously procured by the prayers of St. Richard.

<sup>1</sup> De la Wych, says Fuller, was a 'stout Becketist,' and dedicated to Innocent IV. a defence of the spiritual power against the regal, having especial reference to Henry III. His name has been connected with that of Becket in more than one part of his diocese. A fig-orchard at West Tarring, adjoining an ancient palace of the

creed by Pope Urban IV., in 1261; and in the year 1276 his relics were removed from their first resting-place in Chichester Cathedral to the shrine in which they remained until the Reformation. (Pt. I. § XI.) The life of St. Richard of Chichester was written by Ralph Bocking, a Dominican like the Bishop himself, and his constant attendant<sup>m</sup>. The miracles recorded, such as the feeding, during a great dearth, at Cakeham, in the parish of West Wittering, of 3,000 persons with beans only sufficient for one third the number, are of the usual character; but enough remains to prove that the life and labours of Bishop de la Wych were of no ordinary excellence.

[A.D. 1253—1262.] JOHN CLIPPING.

[A.D. 1262—1287.] STEPHEN DE BERKSTEAD, a partisan of Simon de Montfort, was excommunicated with others on the side of the barons; and was compelled to undertake a laborious journey to Rome to procure absolution, which was granted him not without difficulty.

[A.D. 1288—1305.] GILBERT DE ST. LEOPARD, builder of the beautiful Lady-chapel in the cathedral (Pt. I. § XVIII.), narrowly escaped canonization; to which, according to Matthew of Westminster, he was nearly as much entitled as his predecessor St. Richard. "A father of orphans and consoler of widows, a pious and humble visitor at the beds and in the cottages of the poor, a friend of the needy far more than of the rich,"—such is the character of Bishop Gilbert, one that is not often recorded of a great mediæval prelate. He is said to have worked many miracles after death.

[A.D. 1305—1337.] JOHN DE LANGTON, Chancellor of Eng-

bishops of Chichester, is said to have been planted partly by Becket and partly by St. Richard. The two saints appear together in the curious paintings (of Perpendicular date) on the tomb of John Wootton, in Maidstone Church, Kent.

<sup>m</sup> See it in the *Acta Sanctorum*, April 11.

land in 1308, was the donor of the great window in the south transept. (Pt. I. § XI.) The Earl of Warrene, whose strong castle dominated over the town of Lewes, was excommunicated by this bishop on the score of evil life; and afterwards made a sudden appearance before him, surrounded by armed retainers, with the evident intention of taking vengeance for the insult. The tables were turned, however, and the Earl of Warrene and his men were at once laid up safely in the Bishop's dungeons.

[A.D. 1337—1362.] ROBERT STRATFORD, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of England, was also Chancellor of Oxford, where he succeeded in appeasing the great strife which had arisen between the Southern and Northern students, the latter of whom had withdrawn for some time to the town of Stamford in Lincolnshire.

[A.D. 1362, translated to Worcester in 1368.] WILLIAM DE LENNE, or LULMERE, 'legum doctor.'

[A.D. 1369—1385.] WILLIAM READE was founder of the library at Merton College, Oxford, of which he had been a fellow. After his elevation to the see of Chichester, he built the castle of Amberley, whose picturesque ruins still remain on the banks of the river Arun.

[A.D. 1385—1388.] THOMAS RUSHOOK, a Dominican, the confessor of Richard II., was translated from Llandaff to Chichester on the nomination of the Pope. He was driven from court, however, by the Parliament called the "wonderful," in 1388, and his goods confiscated. The ex-bishop of Chichester was subsequently provided for by a small bishopric in Ireland; that of 'Triburn,' now Kilmore.

[A.D. 1389—1395.] RICHARD MITFORD was translated in the latter year to Salisbury, where his fine tomb remains; (see that Cathedral).

[A.D. 1395—1396.] ROBERT WALDBY, Archbishop of Dublin, was translated to Chichester and thence to York.

[A.D. 1396—1415.] ROBERT READE, a Dominican, and possibly a relative of his predecessor of the same name, nomi-

nated Bishop of Carlisle in 1396, was in the same year translated to Chichester.

[A.D. 1415—1417.] STEPHEN PATRINGTON, translated from St. David's.

[A.D. 1418—1420.] HENRY WARE, 'legum doctor.'

[A.D. 1420—1422.] JOHN KEMP, translated from Rochester; and from Chichester successively to London, York, and Canterbury. (See the last Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1422—1426.] THOMAS POLTON, translated from Hereford; and from Chichester to Worcester.

[A.D. 1426—1429.] JOHN RICKINGALE.

[A.D. 1429—1437.] SIMON SYDENHAM, 'legum doctor.'

[A.D. 1438—1445.] RICHARD PRATT, Chancellor of Oxford.

[A.D. 1445—1449.] ADAM DE MOLEYS, 'legum doctor,' had been the commissioner chosen to deliver over Maine and Anjou to René, titular King of Sicily (in effect to the crown of France), in accordance with the agreement made by the Duke of Suffolk on the marriage of Henry VI. with the daughter of René, the Princess Margaret of Anjou. The cession of these provinces led at once to the loss of Normandy, and eventually of all the English conquests and possessions in France, with the exception of Calais. Great popular indignation was the result; and in 1449 the Bishop of Chichester, whilst superintending the payment of sailors in the 'Domus Dei,' or hospital at Portsmouth, was attacked and killed by them, it is said at the instigation of the Duke of York, the opponent of Suffolk. A tomb assigned to Bishop De Moleys remains in the north choir-aisle. (Pt. I. § XVI.)

[A.D. 1450—1457.] REGINALD PECOCK succeeded. The character of this bishop—the most remarkable Churchman of his time in England—has been variously estimated by writers of different schools; but the recent publication of his most important work, the "Repressor of over-much blaming of the Clergy," enables us to follow his opinions with much greater certainty than has hitherto been possible.

His parentage is unknown, as well as the exact place of his birth, which occurred toward the end of the fourteenth century, and most probably within the Welch diocese of St. David's. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in 1417; was afterwards ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln; and became conspicuous in the University for his knowledge of both sacred and profane literature. He was then summoned to court, and in 1431 obtained from Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, Protector of the kingdom, the Mastership of Whittington College, in London, to which the rectory of St. Michael in Riola was attached. "It was here that Pecock applied himself to study the controversy between the Lollards and their opponents, which must have been prominently brought before his eyes both in his experience of London life and by the Smithfield bonfires." In 1444, through the Protector's influence, but by papal provision, he was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, and in 1447 defended "Unpreaching and Non-resident Prelates," in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross. "The episcopal order had been in little favour in England generally for some time. Many of the most rigid Anglicans, and the whole body of the Lollards, with all its parties and subdivisions, were vehement in their denunciations." Pecock defended them vigorously; but "men exclaimed against them more than ever, and against Pecock in particular." The friars of the mendicant orders were especially active, and Pecock was obliged to transmit a defence of his sermon to Archbishop Stafford, by whom, and by the rest of the bishops, he was of course not unfavourably judged. He had already (c. 1440) written his *Donet* (*Donatus*), or "Introduction to the Chief Truths of the Christian Religion," and in 1454 published his "Follower to the *Donet*." Both works were written against the so-called errors of the Lollards. In 1449 appeared his most important book, "The Repressor of overmuch blaming of the Clergy," the design of which was "to defend the

clergy from what he conceived to be the unjust aspersions of many of the 'lay party,' or 'Bible men' (by which he means the Lollards), and to shew that the practices for which they were blamed admitted of a satisfactory vindication." Of these practices he vindicates six, "the use of images; the going on pilgrimage; the holding of landed possessions by the clergy; the retention of the various ranks of the hierarchy; the framing of ecclesiastical laws by papal and episcopal authority; and the institution of the religious orders." "The great historical value of Pecock's work consists in this, that it preserves to us the best arguments of the Lollards against existing practices which he was able to find, together with such answers as a very acute opponent was able to give." It should also be remarked that Pecock, no less than his opponents, "contributed very materially to the reformation which took place in the following century." The discontented portion of the Church of the fifteenth century in England embraced persons of very various views. "Pecock himself is a singular illustration of the eclecticism (so to say) which prevailed. He virtually admitted, on the one hand, the fallibility of general councils, and insisted strenuously on the necessity of proving doctrines by reason, and not simply by authority; while, on the other, he carried his notions on the papal supremacy almost as far as an Ultramontane could desire, and was blamed even by men like Gascoigne for giving more than its due to the Pope's temporal authority. In maintaining Scripture to be the sole rule of faith, and in rejecting the apocryphal books as uncanonical, he agrees with the reformers altogether; in his doctrine of the invocation of saints, and in various other particulars, he agrees altogether with their adversaries. If in his discourse of images he writes some things which few Anglicans would approve, so also he writes others, in the same discourse, which many Romanists would still less approve. Perhaps it would not be greatly wrong to assert that Pecock stands

half-way between the Church of Rome and the Church of England as they now exist, the type of his mind, however, being rather Anglican than Roman. Of Puritanism, in all its phases, he is the decided opponent."

In maintaining, as he does in the "Repressor," that the special office of Scripture is to make known those truths and articles of faith which human reason could not have discovered, Pecock may be considered as the forerunner of Hooker, who adopts the same line of argument. Indeed, this portion of his work, according to Hallam, "contains passages well worthy of Hooker, both for weight of matter and dignity of style." "Fulness of language," says the learned editor of the "Repressor," "pliancy of expression, argumentative sagacity, extensive learning, and critical skill, distinguish almost every chapter. . . . It is no exaggeration to affirm that Pecock's 'Repressor' is the earliest piece of good philosophical discussion of which our English prose literature can boast. As such it possesses no small interest for the philologist, and for the lover of letters generally."

In 1450, by the interest of the Queen's favourite, William Delapole, Duke of Suffolk, Pecock was raised to the see of Chichester. In 1456 he published his "Treatise on Faith," intended to reduce the Lollards to obedience; and in the following year, at a council held by Henry VI. at Westminster, "the hatred long entertained against his person and opinions burst forth with unrestrained fury." Pecock, who had lost his patron, the Duke of Suffolk, and who was personally out of favour with the King, was compelled to defend himself before Archbishop Bourchier, and, after repeated examinations, was condemned by him. He was offered his choice between a public abjuration of his assumed errors and death by fire. He chose to recant; "confuted," says Fuller, "with seven solid arguments thus reckoned up, *Authoritate, Vi, Arte, Fraude, Metu, Terrore, et Tyrannide.*" Before 20,000 persons assembled at St.

Paul's Cross he declared that he had held, and now abjured, the following errors and heresies :—

I. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in our Lord's descent into hell.

II. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy Spirit.

III. and IV. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy Catholic Church, or in the Communion of Saints.

V. That the Universal Church may err in matters of faith.

VI. That it is not necessary to salvation to uphold, as universally binding, the decrees of a general council.

VII. That it is sufficient for every one to understand Holy Scripture in its literal sense.

His books were then publicly burnt. Many of the errors which he now retracted he had never uttered, and others he knew to be truths. "But, indeed, he seems to have been so confused and bewildered, as scarcely to know what he had said or what he had not said."

Pecock was at first sent by Archbishop Bouchier to Canterbury, and thence to Maidstone. In March, 1459, his bishopric was declared vacant, and his successor appointed. He was himself degraded, and sent, half-prisoner, half-guest, to Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, where he was to have "a secret closed chamber," without books or paper, and to fare "as a brother of the abbey is served when he is excused from the *freytour* (i.e. from dining in hall), and somewhat better after the first quarter." At Thorney Pecock probably died, but in what year is uncertain. Henry Wharton, (editor of the *Anglia Sacra*,) who in 1688 published some extracts from Pecock's "Rule of Faith," refers to him, and with justice, as "by far the most eminent and learned bishop of the Church of England in his time."

Pecock's most valuable and important work, "The Repressor of overmuch blaming of the Clergy," has recently

(1860) been edited by the Rev. Churchill Babington, in the series of documents for the history of England published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. All that is known concerning Bishop Pecock will be found in the editor's excellent "Introduction," from which the passages within inverted commas in the present notice are extracts.

[A.D. 1459—1477.] JOHN ARUNDELL, chaplain and physician to Henry VI.

[A.D. 1478—1503.] EDWARD STORY, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, was translated to Chichester from Carlisle. The market-cross, still remaining at Chichester, was built by him.

[A.D. 1503—1506.] RICHARD FITZ-JAMES, translated from Rochester to Chichester by the Pope, and thence to London.

[A.D. 1508—1536.] ROBERT SHERBORNE, educated in Wykeham's Colleges at Winchester and Oxford, was translated to Chichester from St. David's. He was, says Fuller, "a great scholar and a prudent man;" and was greatly patronized by Henry VII., who employed him on various embassies. The cathedral of Chichester he "decored with many ornaments, . . . especially the south side thereof." (See Pt. I. § XII. for a notice of what Fuller elsewhere calls Bishop Sherborne's "lace and trimmings" in the south transept.) His favourite mottoes were "*Dilexi decorem domus tuæ, Domine,*" and "*Credite operibus;*" referring to the latter of which, Fuller observes that "although some may like his alms better than his trumpet, charity will make the most favourable construction thereof." Bishop Sherborne affords one of the few early instances of the resignation of his see by a bishop on the score of old age and incapacity. He was aged ninety-six when he resigned the see of Chichester; and a bill securing his pension was passed through the House of Lords. He died in the same year (1536).

[A.D. 1536—1543.] RICHARD SAMPSON, 'legum doctor,' translated to Lichfield.

[A.D. 1543—1556.] GEORGE DAY, elder brother of William Day, Bishop of Winchester, Almoner of Anne of Cleves, and Provost of King's College, Cambridge, was a supporter of the "old profession;" a "most pertinacious Papist," says Fuller. In 1551, under Edward VI., he was deprived and imprisoned, but was restored to his see by Queen Mary. The two brothers, George and William, died, the first very young, the latter at a great age; "but," says Fuller, "not so great was the difference between their vivacity as distance betwixt their opinions: the former being a rigid Papist, the latter a zealous Protestant; who requesting of his brother some money to buy books therewith and other necessities, was returned with this denial: 'that he thought it not fit to spend the goods of the Church on him who was an enemy of the Church'." JOHN SCORY, who had been appointed Bishop of Chichester by Edward VI., on Day's deprivation, was deprived in his turn on the accession of Mary. Elizabeth made him Bishop of Hereford.

[A.D. 1557—Jan. 1558<sup>g</sup>.] JOHN CHRISTOPHERSON was appointed by Queen Mary on the death of Bp. Day. "He had no sooner put on his episcopal ring," says Fuller, "but presently he washed his hands in the blood of poor martyrs," of whom many suffered in Sussex. He was one of the commissioners for visiting Cambridge, where he is said to have been active in burning the bones of Bucer. Bishop Christopherson had been Master of Trinity College in that University, and was an excellent scholar, according to Fuller, who adds, "I have seen a Greek tragedy, made and written by his own hand so curiously, that it seemed printed, and presented to King Henry VIII." He was deprived on the accession of Elizabeth, and kept under some restraint, dying in 1560.

<sup>g</sup> Worthies—Shropshire.

[A.D. 1559—1569.] WILLIAM BARLOW, translated from Wells (see that Cathedral), was the first Protestant Bishop of Chichester. His five daughters married five bishops, as appears from the inscription on his wife's tomb, which Fuller gives from a church in Hampshire:—

“ Prole beata fuit, plena annis, quinque suarum  
Præsulibus vidit, Præsulis ipsa, datas.”

[A.D. 1570—1582.] RICHARD CURTIS.

[A.D. 1584—1596.] THOMAS BICKLEY was consecrated bishop when in his eightieth year. In his youth he had been Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. “In the first of Edward VI.,” says Fuller, “his detestation of superstition may rather be commended than his discretion in expressing it, when (before the publique abolishing of popery) at evening prayer he brake the consecrated host with his hands, and stamped it under his feet in the college chapel.” He remained an exile in France throughout the reign of Mary, and afterwards became Warden of Merton College, Oxford, where he continued twenty years. At his death he left legacies to both his colleges at Oxford.

[A.D. 1596—1605.] ANTHONY WATSON.

[A.D. 1605—1609.] LANCELOT ANDREWES, translated first to Ely, and thence to Winchester. (See the latter Cathedral for a full notice of him.)

[A.D. 1609—1619.] SAMUEL HARSNET.

[A.D. 1619—1628.] GEORGE CARLETON was one of the representatives of the English Church sent by James I. to attend the Synod of Dort.

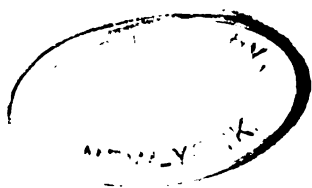
[A.D. 1628—1638.] RICHARD MONTAGUE, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and afterwards a Canon of Windsor, was by far the most active and decided of that “Romanizing” party in the English Church which was so conspicuous in the early years of Charles the First's reign, and from which so much mischief subsequently arose. Montague's first appearance was in 1618, when he replied to Selden's “History of Tithes,” strongly asserting their divine origin. In 1624 he replied to a Romanist pamphlet which asserted

that certain Puritanical tenets were held of necessity by the Church of England. Montague denied this. He was attacked accordingly by the Calvinist or Puritanical party, and then wrote his tract entitled *Appello Cæsarem*, in which he defended his position, and attacked the Puritans "as a people desiring an anarchy." King James died in the interval. On the accession of Charles, and after his first Parliament had met, Montague was called to the bar, charged with injuries to religion. His books, however, were not then censured; and three bishops (Rochester, Oxford, and St. David's) wrote on his behalf to the Duke of Buckingham. In the second Parliament (1626), "a commission for religion was settled, and Montague's 'Appeal to Cæsar' was again debated. This book being referred by the Commons to the committee above-mentioned, Mr. Pym made his report of several erroneous opinions extracted from it, upon which the House made this resolve: 'That Mr. Montague endeavoured to reconcile England to Rome, and alienate the King's affection from his well-affected subjects.' By the way, this is the first time we hear of a Committee of Religion in the House of Commons." The process seems to have been dropped by the Commons, however, nor did the ensuing Convocation notice Montague's book. But pamphlets continued to be poured forth against him; and the King gave great offence when in 1628 he appointed him Bishop of Chichester. Of the lengths to which Montague was disposed to go in order to effect a reconciliation between the Churches of England and Rome there can be no doubt. A full notice of his intrigues with Panzani, the private but accredited minister of Rome at the court of Charles, has been given by Hallam\*. In 1638 Bishop Montague was translated to Norwich, where he died, 1641, and was buried in the cathedral.

[A.D. 1638—1641.] BRIAN DUPPA, translated to Salisbury, and thence to Winchester. (See the latter Cathedral.)

\* Collier, Church Hist., bk. ix.   ▷ Const. Hist. of Eng., ch. viii.

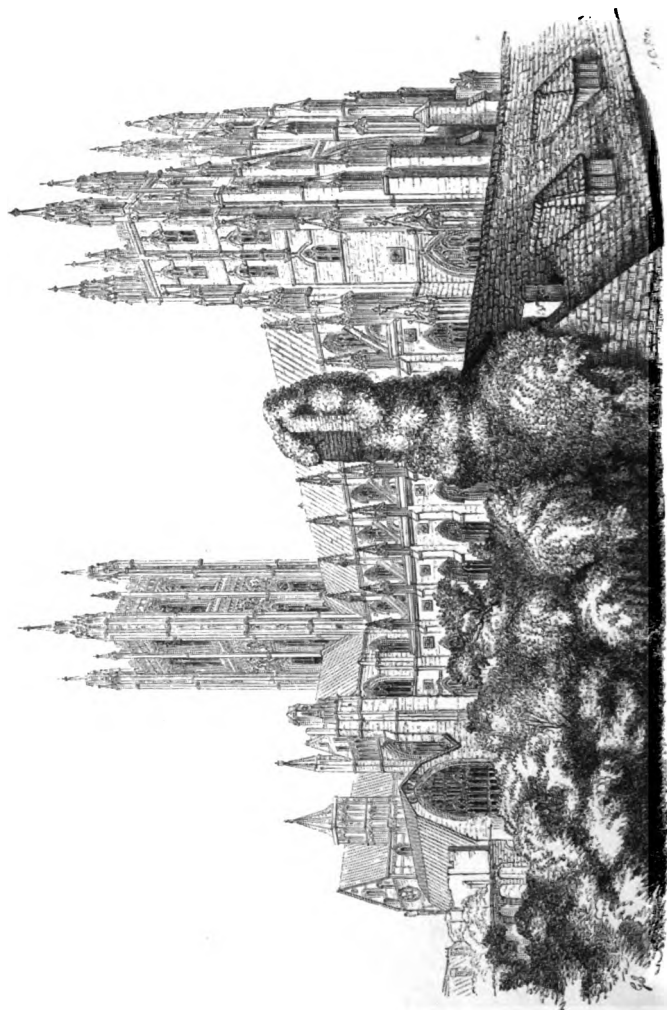
- [A.D. 1641—1669.] **HENRY KING**, son of John King, Bishop of London (James the First's 'King of preachers'), descended from an ancient Devonshire family, succeeded. He was driven from his see during the civil war, when Chichester Cathedral suffered considerably, but lived to be restored on the accession of Charles II. His tomb remains at the back of the choir-screen. Bishop King was a poet of some reputation in his time; and his works have been recently collected and carefully edited. (London, 1843.)
- [A.D. 1669—1675.] **PETER GUNNING**, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, translated to Ely.
- [A.D. 1675—1678.] **RALPH BRIDEOAKE**.
- [A.D. 1678—1685.] **GUY CARLETON**.
- [A.D. 1685—1689.] **JOHN LAKE** had borne arms as a soldier in the cause of Charles I., and was one of the seven bishops imprisoned by his son James II. He had been translated to Chichester from the sees of Sodor and Man and Bristol. Bishop Lake was one of the Nonjurors who were deprived of their sees after the Revolution of 1688.
- [A.D. 1689—1691.] **SIMON PATRICK**, Dean of Peterborough, translated to Ely. (See that Cathedral.)
- [A.D. 1691—1696.] **ROBERT GROVE**.
- [A.D. 1696—1709.] **JOHN WILLIAMS**.
- [A.D. 1709—1722.] **THOMAS MANNINGHAM**.
- [A.D. 1722—1724.] **THOMAS BOWERS**.
- [A.D. 1724—1731.] **EDWARD WADDINGTON**.
- [A.D. 1731—1740.] **FRANCIS HARE**.
- [A.D. 1740—1754.] **MATTHIAS MAWSON**.
- [A.D. 1754—1798.] **WILLIAM ASHBURNHAM**.
- [A.D. 1798—1824.] **JOHN BUCKNER**.
- [A.D. 1824—1831.] **ROBERT JAMES CARR**.
- [A.D. 1831—1836.] **EDWARD MALTRY**.
- [A.D. 1836—1840.] **WILLIAM OTTER**.
- [A.D. 1840—1842.] **PHILIP SHUTTLEWORTH**.
- [A.D. 1842.] **ASHHURST T. GILBERT**.



NEW-YORK.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



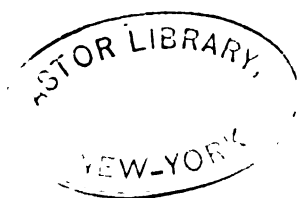
GENERAL VIEW FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

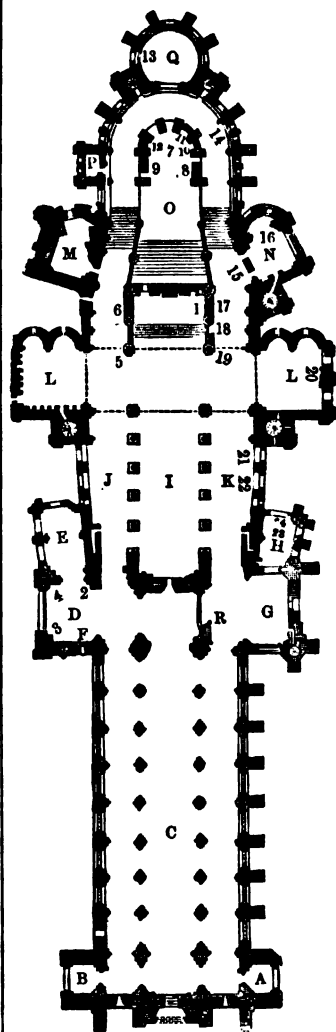
# CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.



NORTH DOOR OF DE ESTRIA'S SCREEN, OUTER FACE.







# REFERENCES.

- A South Porch and Dunstan Tower.
  - B North-west Tower.
  - C Nave.
  - D North-west Transept, (or Transept of the Martyrdom).
  - E Dean's or Lady-chapel.
  - F Door into Cloisters.
  - G South-west Transept.
  - H St. Michael's, or the Warrior's Chapel.
  - I Choir.
  - J North Choir-aisle.
  - K South Choir-aisle.
  - L Eastern Transepts.
  - M St. Andrew's Tower.
  - N St. Anselm's Tower.
  - O Trinity Chapel.
  - P Henry the Fourth's Chantry.
  - Q Corona.
  - R Passage to Crypt.
- 1 Site of St. Dunstan's Shrine.
  - 2 Norman wall marking the spot where Becket fell.
  - 3 Monument of Archbishop Peckham.
  - 4 Monument of Archbishop Warham.
  - 5 Monument of Archbishop Chichele.
  - 6 Monument of Archbishop Bourchier.
  - 7 Position of Becket's Shrine.
  - 8 Monument of the Black Prince.
  - 9 Monument of King Henry IV.
  - 10 Monument of Archbishop Courtenay.
  - 11 Monument of Cardinal Chatillon.
  - 12 Monument of Dean Wotton.
  - 13 Monument of Cardinal Pole.
  - 14 Unknown tomb.
  - 15 Monument of Archbishop Simon of Mepham.
  - 16 Tomb of Archbishop Anselm.
  - 17 Monument of Archbishop Simon of Sudbury.
  - 18 Monument of Archbishop Stratford.
  - 19 Monument of Archbishop Kemp.
  - 20 Site of Archbishop Winchelsea's monument.
  - 21 Monument of Archbishop Hubert Walter.
  - 22 Monument of Archbishop Walter Reynolds.
  - 23 Monument of Margaret Holland and her two husbands.
  - 24 Monument of Archbishop Stephen Langton.

GROUND-PLAN, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in.

# CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

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## PART I.

### History and Details\*.

I. THE site of the existing cathedral of Canterbury is the same on which stood the primitive Roman or British church attributed to King Lucius, and granted by Ethelbert to Augustine:—"the earliest monument of the English union of Church and State." Eadmer expressly tells us that it resembled in its arrangements the old Basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, destroyed in the sixteenth century. As at St. Peter's, the altar was originally at the west end, with the episcopal throne behind it; there was also in both a crypt in imitation of the ancient catacombs in which the bones of the apostles were originally found, the first beginning of the crypt which still exists at Canterbury. These arrangements may either have been made by St. Augustine himself, or by Archbishop Ono (942—959) who

\* It is proper to remark, that in preparing the following account of Canterbury Cathedral, great use has been made of Professor Willis's "Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral," and of Dr. Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Canterbury," the two most important works on the subject which have recently appeared.

restored the roof and walls of the church. The building remained uncovered for three years; during which time, says Eadmer, no rain fell within its sacred enclosure. The renewed church was greatly injured during the sack of Canterbury by the Danes (1011), when the "beata monachorum plebs" were massacred, and Archbishop Alphege carried off to Greenwich, where he afterwards shared their fate. Canute repaired it in expiation, hanging up his crown in the nave, and restored the body of the martyred Alphege to the monks. The church was completely burnt down during the troubled times of the Conquest (1067), together with the many bulls and privileges of kings and popes which it contained.

Of this *first* or *Augustine's* church, no fragment remains. There are memorials of it in the *name* of the cathedral (Christ's Church), agreeing with Bede's statement that Augustine consecrated the Roman church he found in Canterbury "in nomine sancti Salvatoris Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi;" in the present *crypt*, which succeeded the earlier one; and in the *southern porch*, which is the principal entrance at present, as it was in the Saxon church.

II. LANFRANC, the first archbishop after the Conquest, (1070—1089), found his cathedral church completely in ruins, pulled down the few remains of the monastic buildings, and reconstructed both church and monastery from their foundations. Under ANSELM, the next archbishop (1093—1109), the eastern part of this church was taken down, and re-erected with far greater magni-

ficence, by the care of Ernulph, prior of the monastery. His successor, Prior Conrad, finished the chancel, and decorated it with so much splendour that it was henceforth known as the "glorious choir of Conrad." The church thus finished was dedicated by Archbishop William in 1130. Henry, King of England, David, King of Scotland, and all the bishops of England, were present at this dedication, the "most famous," says Gervase, "that had ever been heard of on the earth since that of the temple of Solomon."

It was in *this* church that Becket was murdered (1170); and in the "glorious choir of Conrad" that his body was watched by the monks throughout the succeeding night.

III. Four years later (1174) this choir was entirely burnt down. "The people," says Gervase, himself a monk of Christ Church, and an eye-witness of the fire, "were astonished that the Almighty should suffer such things, and, maddened with excess of grief and perplexity, they tore their hair, and beat the walls and pavement of the church with their hands and heads, blaspheming the Lord, and His saints the patrons of His church;" a frenzy rather Italian than English, but curiously illustrating the fierce excitability of mediæval times. The rebuilding was entrusted to William of Sens, an architect of "lively genius and good reputation," who, beginning in September, 1174, continued the work until 1178, when, just after an eclipse of the sun, which Gervase seems to intimate had something to do with the accident, "through the vengeance of

God or spite of the devil," he fell from a scaffolding raised for turning the vault; and was so much injured that he was compelled to return to France. Another William succeeded him as master architect, "English by nation, small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest." Under the care of English William the choir and eastern buildings beyond it were completed in 1184, ten years from the burning of Conrad's choir.

IV. Lanfranc's nave still remained; but was taken down, and a new nave and transepts were built under Prior Chillenden, the works extending over the years between 1378—1410. The great central tower, at least that part of it which rises above the roof, was added by Prior Goldstone II. about 1495.

V. The *present* cathedral consists either of *portions* or of the *whole* of these different works, from the rebuilding by Lanfranc to the death of Prior Goldstone; a period of more than four centuries. It thus exhibits specimens of nearly all the classes of pointed architecture, the principal being Transitional-Norman and Perpendicular. Its gradual enlargements under Anselm and later, as well as its general arrangements, arose mainly from the great wealth of relics possessed by the church, and the necessity of finding shrine room for displaying them. The Saxon church contained the bodies of St. Blaize (bought by Archbishop Plegmund at Rome "for a great sum of gold and silver"); St. Wilfrid, brought from Ripon, ruined by the Northmen in 950; St. Dunstan, St. Alphege, and other sainted arch-

bishops of Canterbury; St. Audoen, or Ouen, of Rouen, brought to Canterbury by four clerks, about 957 (there was unfortunately another body at Rouen); besides the heads of St. Swithun, St. Furseus, and others, and the arm of St. Bartholomew. All these were enclosed in various altars, and in different chapels; and were carefully removed from the ruined church by Lanfranc. They were replaced in the new cathedral, where other similar treasures were added to them, and where they were at last joined by the greatest of all—the body of the martyred St. Thomas of Canterbury. It should also be remarked that the existing cathedral, although of such various dates, covers, as nearly as can be ascertained, the same ground as the original building of Lanfranc, with the exception of the nave, which is of greater length westward, and of the retro-choir or extreme eastern portion, which is also longer.

VI. The principal ascertained dates of the different portions of the cathedral, together with their builders, may here be briefly recapitulated.

Nave . . . . .	1378—1411	Prior Chillenden.
Choir . . . . .	1174—1184	{ William of Sens, English William, architects.
Choir screen . . . .	1304-5 . .	Prior Henry de Estria.
Towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm . . . . .	{ 1070—1109	{ Archbishop Lanfranc, Prior Ernulf.
Retro-choir and corona	1178—1184	{ English William, architect.

Crypt as far as Tri-	}	1070—1109 Lanfranc and Ernulf.
nity Chapel . . .		
Crypt eastward of	}	1178—1184 English William.
Trinity Chapel . .		
Central or "Bell-	}	1495. . . Prior Goldstone II.
Harry" Tower (a-		
bove the roof) . .		

VII. It must not be forgotten that the cathedral of Canterbury served at once as the metropolitan church, and as that of a great monastery; for, as in the case of all missionary churches, Augustine established a convent here in connection with his cathedral. (See Part II.) Lanfranc, after the Conquest, compiled a strict Rule for it and the other Benedictine monasteries throughout England. It was known as the convent of Christ's Church; and the massive wall by which it was surrounded, rendering it a fortress within a fortress, served at once for defence and for seclusion. This exterior wall was greatly strengthened by Lanfranc, and some portions, still remaining, are probably of his time. The principal entrance is PRIOR GOLDSTONE'S GATE, commonly called "Christ Church Gate," (at the end of Mercery-lane,) built 1517, and a fine example of late Perpendicular. The central niche was filled by a figure of our Saviour, and the defaced bearings on the shields below were those of contributors towards the work. The battlements with which the gate was originally crested were taken down not many years ago. Passing within this gate, we enter the precincts of the cathedral; than which no other in England—if perhaps we except

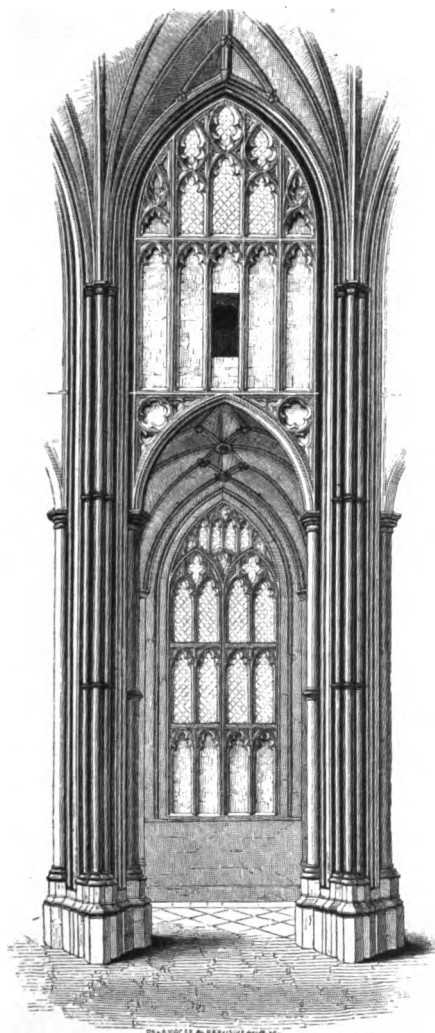
Lincoln—more completely dominates over the surrounding town. “Tanta majestate sese erigit in cœlum,” says Erasmus (*Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*), “ut procul etiam intuentibus religionem inculciat.” It has all the impressiveness of some great natural feature—rock or mountain—in the midst of a comparatively level district; a worthy shrine for the memorials of almost every reign in English history with which it is thronged. Nearly all the archbishops—“alterius orbis papæ”—(the words are first applied by Pope Urban II. to Archbishop Anselm), before the Reformation, are buried here, and most of their tombs remain. “There is no church, no place in the kingdom, with the exception of Westminster Abbey, that is so closely connected with the history of our country<sup>b</sup>.”

VIII. The principal entrance is still, as in St. Augustine's church, the *south porch*. In the Saxon period and later, “all disputes throughout the whole kingdom, which could not be legally referred to the king's court, or to the hundreds or counties,” were judged in the “suth dure” or porch of the parish church or cathedral, which was generally built with an apse, in which stood an altar. The present south porch of Canterbury is part of the work of Prior Chillenden, about 1400. On a panel above the entrance Erasmus saw the figures of Becket's three murderers, ‘Tusci, Fusci, and Berri,’ whom he describes in his colloquy as sharing the same kind of honour with Judas, Pilate, and Caiaphas, when they appear on sculptured altar-tables: these have

<sup>b</sup> Stanley.

quite disappeared. In the portion that remains is still traceable an altar surmounted by a crucifix, between the figures of the Virgin and St. John : at the side are fragments of a sword, marking it as the "altar of the martyrdom." (See § XIX.) The arms in the vaulting of the porch are probably those of contributors toward the rebuilding of the nave ; among them are the shields of England and France, the see of Canterbury, Chichester, and Courtenay.

IX. We now enter the *nave*. [Plate I.] The nave of Lanfranc's cathedral, which covered the same ground as that now existing, had in 1378 fallen into a ruinous condition, when Archbishop Sudbury issued a mandate granting forty days' indulgence to all contributors towards its rebuilding. The work was continued under his two successors, Archbishops Courtenay and Arundel, the architect being probably Thomas Chillenden, prior of the convent. The nave therefore dates from about 1380. Chillenden died in 1411. "The style is a light Perpendicular ; and the arrangement of the parts has considerable resemblance to that of the nave of Winchester, although the latter is of a much bolder character. Winchester nave was going on at the same time with Canterbury nave, and a similar uncertainty exists about the exact commencement. In both a Norman nave was to be transformed, but at Winchester the original piers were either clothed with new ashlaring, or the old ashlaring was wrought into new forms and mouldings where possible ; while at Canterbury the piers were altogether rebuilt. Hence the piers of Winchester



ONE BAY OF NAVE.



are much more massive. The side-aisles of Canterbury are higher in proportion, the tracery of the side-windows different; but those of the clerestory are almost identical in pattern, although they differ in the management of the mouldings. Both have 'lierne' vaults, and in both the triforium is obtained by prolonging the clerestory windows downward, and making panels of the lower lights; which panels have a plain opening cut through them, by which the triforium space communicates with the passage over the roof of the side-aisles<sup>c</sup>."

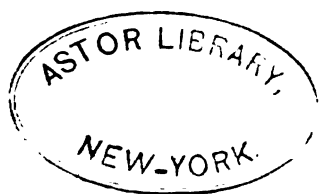
X. The first impression, however, differs greatly from that of Winchester, mainly owing to the height to which the choir is raised above the crypt below, and the numerous steps which are consequently necessary in order to reach it from the nave. In this respect Canterbury stands alone among both English and foreign cathedrals. These stately 'escaliers,' combined with the height and grandeur of the piers, breaking up from the pavement like some natural forest of stone, have always produced their effect even in the darkest anti-Gothic periods. "Entering in company with some of our colonists just arrived from America . . . . how have I seen the countenances even of their negroes sparkle with raptures of admiration<sup>d</sup>!" Here the pilgrims waited, admiring the "*spaciosa ædificii majestas*," and deciphering the painted windows, until the time came for visiting the great shrine. "The nave contained nothing," says Erasmus, "except some books chained

<sup>c</sup> Willis.

<sup>d</sup> Gostling's *Walks through Canterbury*, 1770.

to the pillars, among them the Gospel of Nicodemus, and the tomb of some unknown person\*." This must have been either the chapel in the south wall, afterwards called Dean Neville's, built in 1447 by Lady Joan Brenchley, and removed altogether in 1787, or the tomb of Archbishop WHITTLESEA (died 1374), now destroyed. The Gospel of Nicodemus had been printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509. Of the nave *stained windows* none remain entire, the great west window having been made up of fragments from the others. In this, under the point of the arch, are the arms of Richard II. impaling the Confessor's, those of Anne of Bohemia on the north side, and of Isabella of France south. The memorial window adjoining it south, is the work of G. Austin, Esq.; as are also the windows in the clerestory, and on the south side, the commencement of a series, having for its subject the *Te Deum*, which is designed to fill the windows of the nave. In the *north aisle* are the monuments of ADRIAN SARAVIA, the friend of Hooker, who died here a prebendary in 1612; of ORLANDO GIBBONS, organist to Charles I.; and of SIR JOHN BOYS (died 1614), founder of the hospital without the north gate of the city. Memorials to officers and men of different regiments engaged in the Indian campaigns have been placed against the walls. In the *south aisle* is a recumbent figure, by LOUGH, in English alabaster, of Dr. Broughton, Bishop of Sydney, an old scholar of the King's School attached to the cathedral. The six panels in front bear the arms of

\* Pereg. Relig. Ergo.





PORTION OF THE CHOIR.

the six Australian sees. Opposite, under a rich canopy, is an effigy of Dean LYALL, (died 1858,) by PHILLIPS.

XI. The piers which support the *central tower* are probably the original piers of Lanfranc's erection, cased with Perpendicular work by Prior Chillenden, at the same time with the building of the nave. To this, Prior Goldstone II. (1495—1517) added the vaulting of the tower, and all the portion above the roof, together with the remarkable buttressing-arches supporting the piers below, which had perhaps shewn some signs of weakness. These arches have on them the Prior's rebus, a shield with three golden bars or 'stones.' The central arch occupies the place of the ancient roodloft, and probably the great rood was placed on it until the Reformation.

XII. The *western screen*, through which we enter the choir, has no recorded date, but is of the fifteenth century. It is very beautiful and elaborate, and its carvings deserve the most careful examination. Of the six crowned figures in the lower niches the one holding a church is probably Ethelbert; the others are uncertain. Figures of the Saviour and His apostles originally filled the thirteen mitred niches encircling the arch, but were destroyed by the Puritan "Blue Dick" and his friends. The whole screen, including the figures, has lately been restored.

XIII. On entering the *choir* [Plate II.] the visitor is immediately struck by the singular bend with which the walls approach each other at the eastern end. But this remarkable feature, together with the great

length of the choir (180 feet; it is the longest in England), and the lowness of the vaulting;—the antique character of the architecture, enforced by the strongly contrasted Purbeck and Caen stone, and the consequent fine effects of light and shadow;—all this produces a solemnity not unfitting the first great resting-place of the faith in Saxon England, and carries the mind more completely back into the past than many a cathedral more richly and elaborately decorated. The choir, as it at present exists, is the work of William of Sens and his successor, **ENGLISH WILLIAM** (1174—1184), by whom it was rebuilt after the burning of that of Conrad. Gervase, the contemporary monk, supplies full details of all the operations, so that we are enabled to follow the works year by year<sup>f</sup>. The style is throughout Transition, having Norman and Early English characteristics curiously intermixed. The pillars with their pier-arches, the clerestory wall above, and the great vault up to the transepts, were entirely finished by William of Sens. The whole work differed greatly from that of the former choir. The richly foliated and varied capitals of the pillars [Plate III.], the great vault with its ribs of stone, and the numerous slender shafts of marble in the triforia, were all novelties exciting the great admiration of the monks.

The cathedral of Sens, at that time the Canterbury

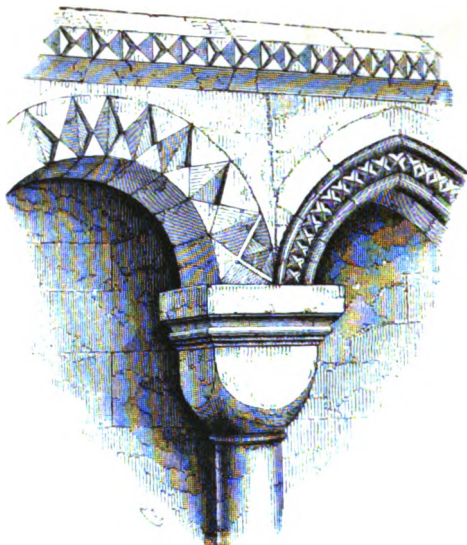
<sup>f</sup> See the translation of the entire tract of Gervase in Willis's *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 32—62. The original will be found in the collection known as the *Decem Scriptores*.



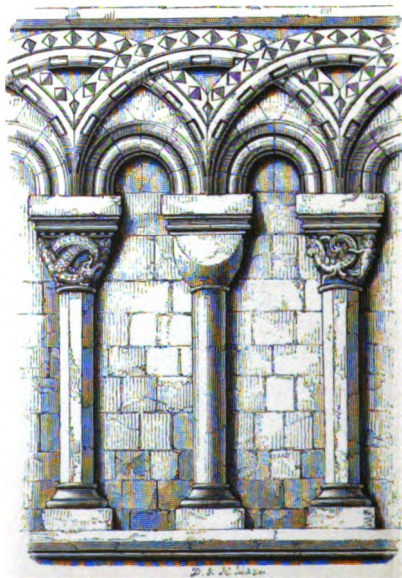
CAPITALS IN THE CHOIR







ARCHES IN SOUTH AISLE—JUNCTION OF WORK.

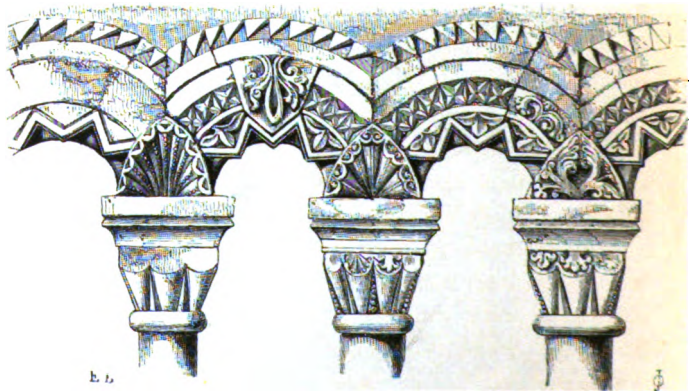


ARCADE, NORTH SIDE, EXTERIOR.





TRIFORIUM IN THE CHOIR: FROM WITHIN.



DETAILS OF THE NORMAN STAIRCASE.

of France and the seat of the Primacy, must have largely influenced the architect William. It dates from 1143 to 1168, and must have been well known at Canterbury from Becket's residence there during his exile. It has several peculiarities in common with Canterbury; for example, double piers, composed of two columns, set one behind the other, foliated capitals, rings on some of the slender shafts, and the same system of vaulting. The mouldings of William of Sens are very varied, exhibiting a profusion of billet-work, zig-zag, and dog-tooth, [Plate IV.], — the first two characteristics of Norman, the last of Early English; a mixture of ornaments in accordance with the mixture of round and pointed arches throughout. The triforium [Plate V.] exhibits this curiously, the outer arch being circular, the two inner, which it circumscribes, pointed. The clerestory arches are pointed. The stone vault was one of the earliest, if not the very first, constructed in England, and exhibits the same mixture of styles. Some of the transverse ribs are pointed, others round: the diagonal are all round. William of Sens fell from the upper part of the clerestory wall, a height of fifty feet, whilst preparing to turn the portion of this vault between the transepts. Of this part he directed the completion from his bed, and the work was then resigned to English William.

The remarkable contraction at the head of the choir was rendered necessary from the architect's desire of uniting his work with the towers of St. Anselm and St. Andrew, which still remain on either side. These

had escaped the recent fire, and, as they were not to be removed, they "would not allow the breadth of the choir to proceed in the direct line." It was also determined that a chapel of St. Thomas, the new martyr, should be placed at the head of the church, in the room of the chapel of the Trinity, which had been destroyed; but the dimensions of this chapel were to be preserved, and as it was much narrower than the choir, this last had to be narrowed so as to coincide with it. The second or eastern transepts already existed in the former church, and were retained by William of Sens.

The best general views of the choir will be obtained from the upper stalls, north and south, toward the west end, where the full beauty of these eastern transepts is gained. The effects of light are grand, though it is much to be wished that the whole of the windows in the transept clerestory were filled with stained glass. Colour might perhaps also be introduced with advantage throughout the vaulting itself, which is now somewhat cold and ceiling-like.

XIV. The great height to which the altar is raised resulted from the construction of the new crypt under St. Thomas's Chapel, which is much loftier than the older choir crypt. On the completion of the choir by William of Sens the high altar stood completely isolated, without a reredos; and behind it, east, was placed the metropolitan chair, its ancient and true position,

§ Gervase.

still to be seen in many early Continental churches, (Torcello in the Lagunes of Venice is an excellent example). This was afterwards removed into the corona, and is now in the south choir transept.

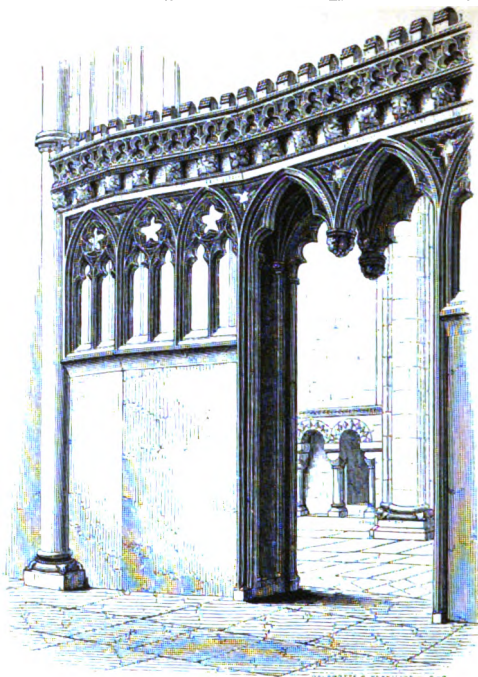
The *reredos*, which was erected behind the high altar (probably during the fourteenth century), was destroyed by the Puritans in 1642. It was succeeded by an elaborate Corinthian screen, which was removed only a few years since, and replaced by the present reredos, "imitated from the screen-work of the Lady-chapel in the crypt." The high altar before the Reformation was most richly adorned, and in a grated vault beneath was a treasury of gold and silver vessels, in presence of which, says Erasmus, Midas and Croesus would have seemed but beggars. The Puritans destroyed "a most idolatrous, costly glory cloth," presented by Laud. The existing altar coverings, of crimson velvet, were the gift of Queen Mary, wife of William III., on a visit to the cathedral. Among the plate is a chalice, an offering of the Earl of Arundel, ambassador of Charles I. to Germany, on his passing through Canterbury in 1636.

Within the choir, before the Reformation, there were, besides the high altar, the altar-shrines of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan. That of St. ALPHEGE, the archbishop martyred by the Northmen in 1011, whose body was restored to Canterbury by Canute, was on the north side, near the present altar. No trace of it exists. On the south wall of the choir, between the monuments of Archbishops Stratford and Sudbury, there still remains some diaper-work of open lilies, a part of the decoration

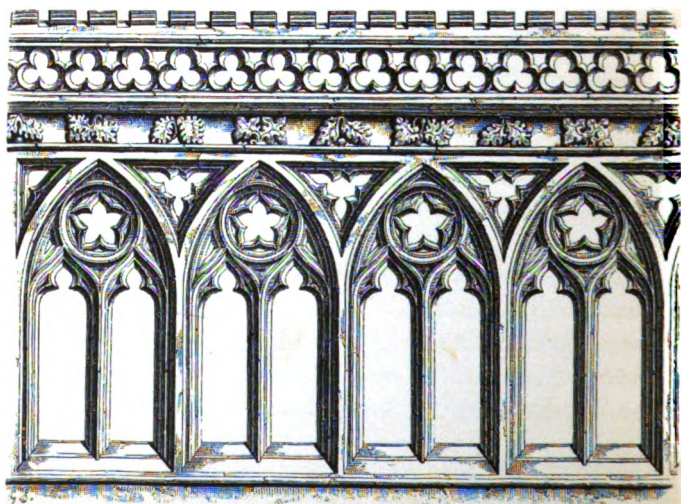
of *St. Dunstan's altar*, which stood there. The bodies of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan, co-exiles with the monks after the fire, says Gervase, were re-conveyed into the choir with great ceremony. The shrine of Dunstan was opened by Archbishop Warham in 1508, in consequence of a dispute with the monks of Glastonbury, who declared that the body of the Saint had been removed to Glastonbury after the sack of Canterbury by the Danes. A body, however, with a plate of lead on the breast, inscribed "*Sanctus Dunstanus*," was found on the opening of the shrine. A portion of the Saint's skull was then enclosed in a silver reliquary, made in the form of a head, and placed with the other relics, which in their ivory, gilt, or silver coffers, were exhibited to the pilgrims on the north side of the choir. Among them were pieces of Aaron's rod, some of the clay from which Adam was made, and, especially precious, the right arm of "our dear lord, the Knight St. George." Each of these relics was devoutly kissed, except by such "*Wickliffites*" as Dean Colet, who visited Canterbury with Erasmus in 1512.

XV. An especial interest belongs to a small portion of the *pavement* of the choir, lying between the transepts. It is of a peculiar stone, or veined marble, of a delicate brown colour, and "when parts of it are taken up for repair or alteration, it is usual to find lead which has run between the joints of the slabs, and spread on each side below, and which is with great reason supposed to be the effect of the fire of 1174, which melted the lead of the roof, and caused it to run down between





NORTH DOOR OF DE ESTRIA'S SCREEN, INNER FACE.



PRIOR DE ESTRIA'S SCREEN.

the paving-stones in this manner<sup>h</sup>." This is, therefore, a fragment of the original pavement of "the glorious choir of Conrad," in which the body of Becket was watched by the monks throughout the night following the murder.

XVI. The wainscoting which formerly concealed the tracery of the choir-screen has been removed, except at the west end. A Corinthian throne, of wainscot, carved by Gibbons, and presented by Archbishop Tenison in 1704, has been replaced by a lofty stone canopy of tabernacle-work, the gift of Archbishop Howley.

The *organ*, rebuilt by Samuel Green, 1784, and enlarged by Hill, 1842, formerly stood over the west screen, but has now been "ingeniously deposited out of sight in the triforium of the south aisle of the choir. A low pedestal, with its keys, stands in the choir itself, so as to place the organist close to the singers, as he ought to be; and the communication between the keys and the organ is effected by trackers passing under the pavement of the side aisles, and conducted up to the triforium through a trunk let into the south wall<sup>i</sup>."

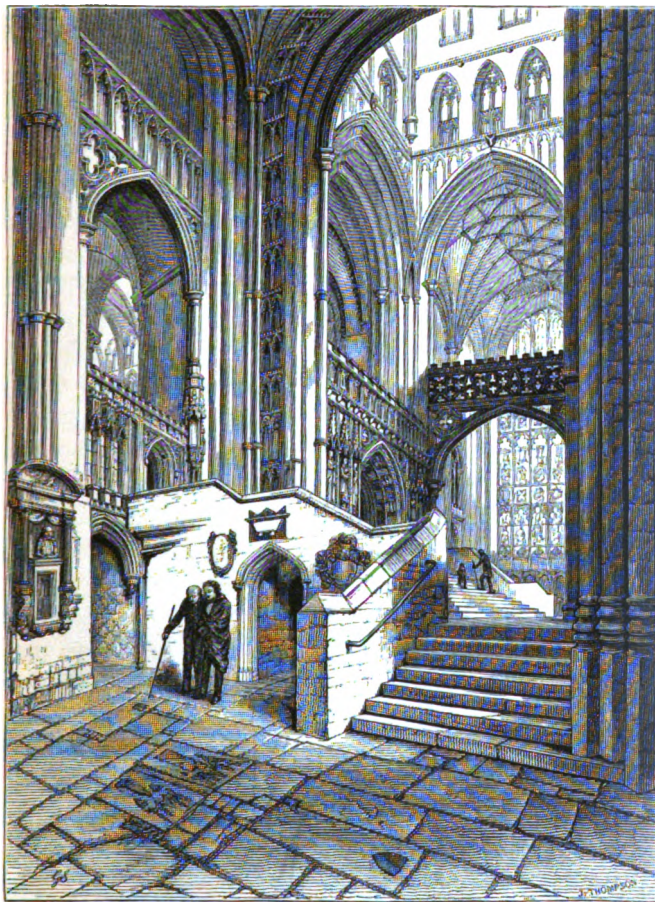
XVII. The *screen* surrounding the choir is the work of Prior HENRY DE ESTRIA (constructed 1304-5), [Plate VI.], and is "valuable on account of its well-ascertained date, combined with its great beauty and singularity<sup>j</sup>." The entire height is fourteen feet. The north doorway [Title-page] remains perfect: its central pendent bosses are especially remarkable. The south

<sup>h</sup> Willis.<sup>i</sup> Id.<sup>j</sup> Id.

door is much later, and is "manifestly a subsequent insertion."

XVIII. The monuments in the choir will be best examined from the side-aisles. Leaving it again at the west door of the screen, we follow in the track of the pilgrims, who were usually conducted into the *north transept*, called the *Transept of the Martyrdom* [Plate VII.], through the dark passage under the choir steps. We are now on the actual scene of the murder; but although the transept was not injured by the fire which consumed Conrad's choir, it was completely altered by Prior Chillenden during the building of the present nave.

Lanfranc's church had closely resembled that of the monastery of St. Stephen at Caen, of which he was abbot, and which was in building at the same time. In the transept of St. Stephen's may still be seen the arrangement which existed in that of Canterbury at the time of Becket's murder. The transept was divided into an upper and lower portion by a vault open on the side of the nave, where it was supported by a single pillar. In the eastern apse of the *lower* part was the altar of St. Benedict, in the *upper* that of St. Blaize. Many of the Saxon archbishops were also buried in the *lower* apse. There was a piece of solid wall intervening between this apse and two flights of steps, one leading down into the crypt, the other upward into the north aisle of the choir. In the west wall a door opened into the cloister. Becket, after the violent scene in his chamber with the knights, was dragged along the clois-



MARTYRDOM TRANSEPT.



ter by the monks, and entered the transept by this door, which, after it had been barred by his attendants, he flung open himself, saying that "the church must not be turned into a castle;" and the knights, who had followed through the cloister, now instantly rushed into the church. It was about five o'clock, Dec. 29, 1170, O.S., and *Tuesday*; remarked as a significant day in Becket's life, and afterwards regarded as the week-day especially consecrated to the saint. The church must have been nearly dark, with the exception of the few lamps burning here and there before the altars. Vespers had already commenced, but were thrown into utter confusion on the news of the knights' approach, and when they entered the cathedral all the monks who had gathered about Becket fled to the different altars and hiding-places. There remained with him only Robert, canon of Merton, his old instructor; William Fitzstephen, his chaplain; and Edward Grim, a Saxon monk. They urged him to ascend to the choir, and he had already passed up some steps of the eastern flight leading to it, perhaps intending to go to the patriarchal chair at the high altar, when the knights rushed in, and Reginald Fitzurse, who was first, coming round the central pillar, advanced to the foot of the steps, and called out, "Where is the Archbishop?" Becket immediately stopped, and returned to the transept, attired in his white rochet, with a cloak and hood thrown over his shoulders. He took up his station between the central pillar and the massive wall between St. Benedict's altar and the choir steps. There the

knights gathered round him, and at first endeavoured to drag him out of the church. But Becket set his back against the pillar, and resisted with all his might, whilst Grim flung his arm round him to aid his efforts. In the struggle Becket threw Tracy down on the pavement. After a fierce dispute, in which the Archbishop's language was at least as violent as that of the knights, Fitzurse, roused to frenzy, struck off Becket's cap with his sword. The Archbishop then covered his eyes with his hands, and commended himself to God, to St. Denys of France, to St. Alphege, and the other saints of the church. Tracy sprang forward and struck more decidedly. Grim, whose arm was still round the archbishop, threw it up to avert the blow; the arm was nearly severed, and Grim fled to the altar of St. Benedict close by. The stroke also wounded Becket, who, after two others, also from Tracy, fell flat on his face before the corner wall. In this posture, Richard le Bret, crying, "Take this for the love of my lord William, the king's brother," struck him so violently, that the scalp or crown was severed from the skull, and the sword snapped in two on the pavement. Hugh of Horsea, the chaplain of Robert de Broc, who was with the knights, then thrust his sword into the wound, and scattered the brains over the floor. This was the final act. Hugh de Moreville was the only one of the knights who had struck no blow. He had been holding the entrance of the transept. The four knights then rushed from the church through the cloisters, and re-entered the palace, which they plundered, carrying off from the

stables the horses, on which Becket had always greatly prided himself.

XIX. We have now to see how far the existing transept retains any memorials of this scene, regarded throughout Christendom as unexampled in sacrilege since the crucifixion of our Lord. And *first*, much of the original Norman walls was allowed to remain in the transepts when Chillenden rebuilt them at the same time with the nave; and portions of Lanfranc's ash-laring are still visible on the west side of the door leading into the cloisters. This is therefore the actual door by which Becket and the knights entered the church. *Next*, the wall between the chapel of St. Benedict and the passage leading to the crypt, in front of which the Archbishop fell, still remains unaltered, "for the masonry of the fifteenth century, which clothes every other part of the transept<sup>k</sup>, does not intrude itself here, but is cut off many feet above." *Lastly*, there is reason to believe that the pavement immediately in front of the wall is that existing at the time of the murder. It is a hard Caen stone, and from the centre of one of the flags a small square piece has been cut out, possibly as a relic<sup>l</sup>. In front of the wall, and on a portion of the

<sup>k</sup> Not entirely, as has been seen above.

<sup>l</sup> A tradition, of uncertain age, asserts that such a relic was taken to Rome by the legates in 1173, and deposited in Sta. Maria Maggiore, where a fragment of Becket's tunic, and small bags, said to contain portions of the brain, are still shewn. The older Kentish topographers, however, down to Hasted, know nothing of this story; and Baronius, who mentions the other relics, says

pavement, was erected a wooden altar to the Virgin, called "*Altare ad punctum ensis*," where a portion of the brains was shewn under a piece of rock-crystal, and where were exhibited and kissed by the pilgrims the fragments of Le Bret's sword which had been broken on the floor. (The sword worn by Hugh de Moreville was preserved in Carlisle Cathedral, and is still to be seen at Brayton-hall, in Cumberland.) In order that this altar might be better seen, the pillar and vault above it were removed. The stairs also up which Becket was ascending have disappeared, but the ancient arrangement, precisely similar, may still be seen in the south transept. (For the cloisters, generally entered from this transept, see § L.)

XX. The great window of the north transept was the gift of Edward IV. and his Queen, whose figures still remain in it, together with those of his daughters, and of the two princes murdered in the Tower. The "remarkably soft and silvery appearance" of this window has been noticed by Mr. Winston<sup>m</sup>. In its original state the Virgin was pictured in it "in seven several glorious appearances," and in the centre was Becket himself at full length, robed and mitred. This part was demolished in 1642 by Richard Culmer, called "Blue Dick," the great iconoclast of Canterbury, who "rattled down proud Becket's glassie bones" with a pike, and who, when thus engaged, narrowly escaped

nothing of the square of pavement. The probability is that the story is not older than the present century.

<sup>m</sup> Ancient Painted Glass.

martyrdom himself at the hands of a "malignant" fellow-townsmen, who "threw a stone with so good a will that if St. Richard Culmer had not ducked he might have laid his own bones among the rubbish."

In this transept is the monument of Archbishop PECKHAM (1279—1292: see Part II.), *temp.* Edw. I., whose marriage with Margaret of France was solemnized on this spot in 1299, by Peckham's successor, Archbishop Winchelsea. Peckham's effigy is in Irish oak. This is the earliest complete monument in the cathedral. Adjoining, "a very handsome specimen of a very common design," is that of Archbishop WARHAM (1503—1532), the friend and patron of Erasmus: (see Part II.)

XXI. The site of the chapel of St. Benedict, to the altar of which Grim fled, is now occupied by the *Dean's* or *Lady-chapel*, built by Prior GOLDSTONE (1449—1468) in honour of the Virgin. It has a rich fan vault. In it are the monuments of many of the deans. Those of FOTHERBY, a curious specimen of the worst "debased" taste; of Dr. BARGRAVE (died 1642), with the copy of a portrait, by Jansen, now in the Deanery; of Dean Boys, seated in his study; and of Dr. TURNER, who attended Charles I. at Hampton Court and in the Isle of Wight, are the most remarkable.

XXII. From the Transept of the Martyrdom we advance into the *north aisle of the choir*, up which the pilgrims were conducted on their way to the great shrine. The walls of the side-aisles and of the choir-transepts were not destroyed by the fire which consumed Conrad's choir, and although throughout altered

and enriched by William of Sens, still retain large portions of the original work of Prior Ernulf, by whom the rebuilding of Lanfranc's choir was commenced during the episcopate of Anselm<sup>a</sup>. The arcade at the base of the wall in the aisle, is Ernulf's, and his piers and arch-heads were retained in the aisle windows; which, however, were raised by William about 3 ft. 8 in. In the *choir transept*, the clerestory windows of Ernulf's work are the present triforium windows. The arcade-work and mouldings here, and the present clerestory windows, are all William of Sens'. There is a marked difference in the base-mouldings and in the masonry of the vaulting-shafts between the works of Ernulf and William, the first being much plainer. Throughout, William of Sens, whilst improving and enriching, seems to have aimed at harmonizing his work with Ernulf's; hence his mixture of round and pointed arches, and a certain imitation in portions of ornamental mouldings, purposely kept simple, although very graceful in outline. [See Plate IV.] "Ernulf's carvings," says Gervase, "were worked by an axe, and not by a chisel, like William's;" and the difference can readily be traced.

The *stained windows* in the lower part of the aisle are of extreme beauty, and deserve the closest examination. They are of the same date and character as those in the Trinity Chapel. (See § xxviii.) On the corner of the wall, adjoining the transept, are the remains of a mural painting representing the conversion of

<sup>a</sup> See Willis, Arch. Hist. of Cant. Cath., for a careful distinction between the architecture of Ernulf and William of Sens.

St. Hubert. In the *transept* are memorial windows for Dr. Spry and Canon Chesshyre; and one in memory of Dr. Stanley's Eastern travels, and of his connection with this cathedral.

In the two eastern apses of this transept were the altars of St. Stephen and St. Martin, and over them relics of SS. Swithun and Vulgarius. The bases of the arches, opening into these apses, are William of Sens' work, and very elegant.

XXIII. At the end of the aisle, close to the steps ascending to the retro-choir, is the door of *St. Andrew's tower*, part of Lanfranc's building, now used as a vestry. It was formerly the sacristy, and in it the privileged class of pilgrims were shewn the 'wealth' of silken robes and golden candlesticks belonging to the church; Becket's pastoral staff of pear-wood, with its crook of black horn; his bloody handkerchief; and a black leather chest, containing linen rags with which he wiped his forehead and blew his nose. All knelt when this chest was exhibited.

XXIV. On the choir side of the aisle, opposite the transept, is the monument of HENRY CHICHELE (1414—1443), the Archbishop of Henry V. and of Agincourt, the instigator of the last great war of conquest in France. (See Pt. II.) This monument, in many respects remarkable, was erected by him during his life, and, like his college of All Souls, may possibly indicate his "deep remorse for this sin," which seems also hinted at in a letter to the Pope. All the details of the effigy should be noticed. Angels support the head, and at

the feet are two kneeling monks with open books. Below, and within the arched sides of the tomb, is laid an emaciated figure in a winding-sheet. Most of the small figures with which the niches were filled were destroyed by the Puritans, and those which now exist are of later date. The monument is kept in repair and colour by the Warden and Fellows of All Souls'. Beyond, is a recumbent figure of Archbishop HOWLEY, (died 1848), buried at Addington, for which place this monument was originally destined. This is the first monument of an archbishop placed in the cathedral since the Reformation°. Between the last two piers of the choir is the monument of the Cardinal Archbishop BOURCHIER (1454—1486), whose episcopate of fifty-one years—as bishop successively of Worcester and of Ely, and as archbishop—is the longest on record in the English Church. The tomb, which has a lofty canopy, much enriched, displays the 'Bourchier knot' among its ornaments: all the details deserve attention.

XXV. We now ascend into the *retro-choir*. The steep flights of steps by which it is reached from the choir-aisles were rendered necessary by the great loftiness of the crypt under the extreme eastern portion of the cathedral. Up these steps the pilgrims climbed on their knees, and the indentations on the stones yet tell

° Most of the archbishops since the Reformation are buried either at Lambeth or at Croydon. Laud and Juxon are interred in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford; Sancroft lies at Fresingfield in Suffolk, and Tillotson in the church of St. Lawrence, Jewry.

of the long trains of worshippers by which they have been mounted age after age. At the foot of the stairs were placed receptacles for offerings. This "long succession of ascents by which church seemed piled upon church," may have suggested the hymn to St. Thomas :—

" Tu per Thomæ sanguinem  
Quem pro te impendit  
Fac nos Christo *scandere*  
Quo Thomas *ascendit* ."

The whole of this part of the cathedral, from the choir-screen to the extreme east end, is the work of English William. It is marked by a lighter character than that of William of Sens, though its main features are the same. In the side aisles, and in the eastern apse or corona, English William's style is best distinguished. His "slender marble shafts" are so detached and combined as to produce "a much greater lightness and elegance of effect than in the work of the previous architect," and a single order of mouldings is used throughout<sup>1</sup>.

XXVI. The central portion of the retro-choir, between the piers formed by double columns, is the *Chapel of the Holy Trinity*, or, as it was more generally called, that of *St. Thomas*. In the ancient Chapel of the Trinity, burnt at the same time with Conrad's choir, Becket had sung his first mass after his installation as archbishop; and, after the rebuilding, this was the spot chosen for his shrine, toward the ancient position of which the stranger first turns, in spite of the stately

<sup>1</sup> Stanley.

<sup>1</sup> Willis.

tombs around him. The place where the shrine stood is exactly ascertained by the mosaic of the pavement, a fragment of the *Opus Alexandrinum* with which most of the Roman basilicas are paved. (Portions of a similar pavement remain in Westminster Abbey about the shrine of the Confessor.) Some of the signs of the zodiac, besides representations of virtues and vices, may be traced on it. This mosaic was immediately in front of the shrine, which stood eastward of it. [Plate VIII.] An indentation in the pavement, running for some distance eastward on either side, is thought to mark the limit beyond which the ordinary class of pilgrims was not allowed to advance, and at which they knelt whilst the marvels of the shrine were pointed out by the Prior. In the roof above is fixed a crescent, made of some foreign wood, which has not been clearly accounted for. It possibly refers to Becket's title of "St. Thomas Acrensis," given him from his especial patronage of the Hospital of St. John at Acre. His intercession was thought to have driven the Saracens from that fortress. A number of iron staples formerly existed near this crescent, and perhaps supported a trophy of flags and spears.

XXVII. Some account of the *translation* of the relics of Becket to this part of the cathedral, of the *shrine* itself, and of its later *history*, may here be given. On the morning after the murder the body of the Archbishop, for fear of the knights, who threatened yet further to dishonour it, was hastily buried at the east end of the crypt. Here it remained, after the solemn





canonization by Pope Alexander III. in 1173, and after the fire of 1174, until the new choir and chapels had for some time been completed, and everything was duly prepared for its translation. This took place on Tuesday, July 7, 1220, after two years' notice circulated throughout Europe, and before such an assemblage as had never been collected in any part of England before. The archbishop, Stephen Langton, in the presence of all the monks of his convent, opened the tomb in the crypt the night before. The next day, Pandulph the legate, the archbishops of Rheims and Canterbury, and Hubert de Burgh, Grand Justiciary of England, carried on their shoulders the chest containing the bones up to the shrine prepared for them behind the high altar. Nearly all the bishops of the province of Canterbury were present, and the procession was led by the young king, Henry III., then only thirteen. Of the shrine itself a drawing remains among the Cottonian MSS., and it is also represented in one of the stained windows. It resembled that of St. Cuthbert at Durham. The altar of St. Thomas stood at the head of it. The lower part was of stone, and on marble arches, against which the sick and lame pilgrims were allowed to rub themselves in hope of a cure. The mass of worshippers did not pass beyond the iron rails that surrounded it. The shrine itself rested on the marble arches, and was covered with a wooden canopy, which at a given signal was drawn up, "and the shrine then appeared, blazing with gold and jewels; the wooden sides were plated with gold and damasked with gold wire, and embossed with innu-

merable pearls and jewels and rings, cramped together on this gold ground." As all fell on their knees, the Prior came forward and touched the several jewels with a white wand, naming the giver of each. One was supposed to be the finest in Europe. It was a great carbuncle or diamond, as large as a hen's egg, called the "Regale of France," and presented by Louis VII. of France, who, said the legend, was somewhat unwilling to part with so great a treasure; but the stone leapt from the ring in which he wore it, and fastened itself firmly into the shrine, a miracle against which there was no striving. The 'Regale' burnt at night like a fire, and would suffice for a king's ransom. Louis was the first French king who ever set foot upon English ground. He had visited the tomb in the crypt in 1179, and "being very fearful of the water," he obtained St. Thomas's promise that neither he nor any other person crossing from Dover to Whitsand or Calais should suffer shipwreck. Here also came Richard on his liberation from his Austrian dungeon, walking from Sandwich to give thanks to "God and St. Thomas." John followed him; and every succeeding English king, and their great foreign visitors, did repeated homage at the upper shrine. Edward I. (1299) offered here no less a gift than the golden crown of Scotland. Henry V. was here on his return from Agincourt. Emanuel, the Emperor of the East, paid his visit to Canterbury in 1400; Sigismund, Emperor of the West, in 1417. In 1520 Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V. knelt here together. "They rode together from Dover on the morning of Whit-

sunday, and entered the city through St. George's-gate. Under the same canopy were seen both the youthful sovereigns. Cardinal Wolsey was directly in front; on the right and left were the proud nobles of Spain and England; the streets were lined with clergy, all in full ecclesiastical costume. They lighted off their horses at the west door of the cathedral; Warham was there to receive them. Together they said their devotions—doubtless before the shrine." Myriads of pilgrims, of all countries and of all ranks, thronged year after year toward Canterbury, "the holy blissful martyr for to seek," after the fashion of that immortal company which shines in the pages of Chaucer with a glory more lasting than that of the "great Begale" itself; and churches were dedicated to St. Thomas throughout every part of Christendom, from Palestine to Scotland.

The Vigil of the Translation, July 6, had always been kept as a solemn fast in the English Church until 1537, when, a sign of greater changes to come, Archbishop Cranmer "ate flesh" on the eve, and "did sup in his hall with his family, which was never seen before." In April, 1538, (such at least was the story believed at the time on the Continent, although there is some reason for distrusting it,) a summons was addressed in the name of Henry VIII. "to thee, Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury," charging him with treason, contumacy, and rebellion. It was read at the shrine, and thirty days allowed for Becket's appearance. As this did not occur, the case was tried at Westminster, where the Attorney-General represented

Henry II., and an advocate was appointed by Henry VIII. for Becket. The first prevailed, and sentence was pronounced that the Archbishop's bones should be burnt, and the offerings forfeited to the Crown. The bones, however, were not burnt, but buried; the jewels and gold of the shrine were carried off in two coffers on the shoulders of seven or eight men, and the remaining offerings filled twenty-six carts. (The annual offerings at the shrine, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when they had much decreased in value, averaged about £4,000 of our money.) The "Regale" was long worn by Henry in his thumb-ring. Finally, an order appeared that Becket was no longer to be called a saint, but "Bishop Becket;" that his images throughout the realm were to be pulled down, and his name razed out of all books. This last injunction was rigidly carried out. "The name of Geta has not been more carefully erased by his rival brother on every monument of the Roman empire<sup>r</sup>." At this time, also, Becket's Cornish choughs were removed from the arms of the city.

XXVIII. His figure, however, was still allowed to remain here and there, in *stained windows*; and, fortunately, some of those which once entirely surrounded Trinity Chapel were of this number. The windows here and in the Corona should be most carefully examined. They are of the thirteenth century, and among the finest of this date in Europe, excelling in many respects those of Bourges, Troyes, and Chartres; "for excellence of drawing, harmony of colouring, and purity

<sup>r</sup> Stanley.

of design, they are justly considered unequalled. The skill with which the minute figures are represented cannot even at this day be surpassed<sup>a</sup>. Remark especially the great value given to the brilliant colours by the profusion of white and neutral tints. The scrolls and borders surrounding the medallions are also of extreme beauty.

The three windows remaining in the aisles surrounding the Trinity Chapel are entirely devoted, as were all the rest, to the miracles of Becket, which commenced immediately on the death of the great martyr, to whom, as visions declared, a place had been assigned between the apostles and the martyrs, preceding even St. Stephen, who had been killed by aliens, whilst Thomas was killed by his own<sup>b</sup>. The miracles represented in the medallions are of various characters. The *Lucerna Angliae*, a true St. Thomas of *Kandelberg*, as the Germans called him, restores sight to the blind. Loss of smell is recovered at the shrine of this *Arbor Aromatica*. Frequently he assists sailors, the rude crews of the Cinque Ports in his own immediate neighbourhood. At the Norway fishing his figure came gliding over the seas in the dusk, and descended, burning like fire, to aid the imperilled ships of the Crusaders<sup>c</sup>. In the window toward the east, on the north of the shrine, is represented a remarkable series of miracles, occurring

<sup>a</sup> Stanley's Memorials, (third edition,) note by George Austen, Esq., p. 281.

<sup>b</sup> Benedict, De Miraculis S. Thomæ Cantuar.

<sup>c</sup> Benedict, Hoveden.

in the household of a knight named Jordan, son of Eisulf, whose son is restored to life by the water from St. Thomas's well, which, mixed with his blood, was always carried off by the pilgrims. The father vows an offering to the martyr before Mid-Lent. This is neglected; the whole household again suffer, and the son dies once more. The knight and his wife, both sick, drag themselves to Canterbury, perform their vow, and the son is finally restored\*. On a medallion in one of the windows on the north side is a representation of Becket's shrine, with the martyr issuing from it in full pontificals, to say Mass at the altar. [Plate IX.] This vision Benedict says was seen by himself.

XXIX. Between the first two piers of Trinity Chapel, south, is the monument of EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE (died Trinity Sunday, June 8, 1376), [Plate X.], "the most authentic memorial remaining of the first of a long line of English heroes." He had already founded a chantry in the crypt, on the occasion of his marriage (1363) with the "Fair Maid of Kent;" and his will, dated June 7, the day before his death, contains minute directions for this monument and for his interment, which he orders to be in the crypt. For some unknown reason this order was disregarded, and he was buried above, his tomb being the first erected in what was then thought to be the most sacred spot in England. The effigy is in brass, and was once entirely gilt, like the cast from it, which may be seen at Sydenham. The Plantagenet

\* Benedict.

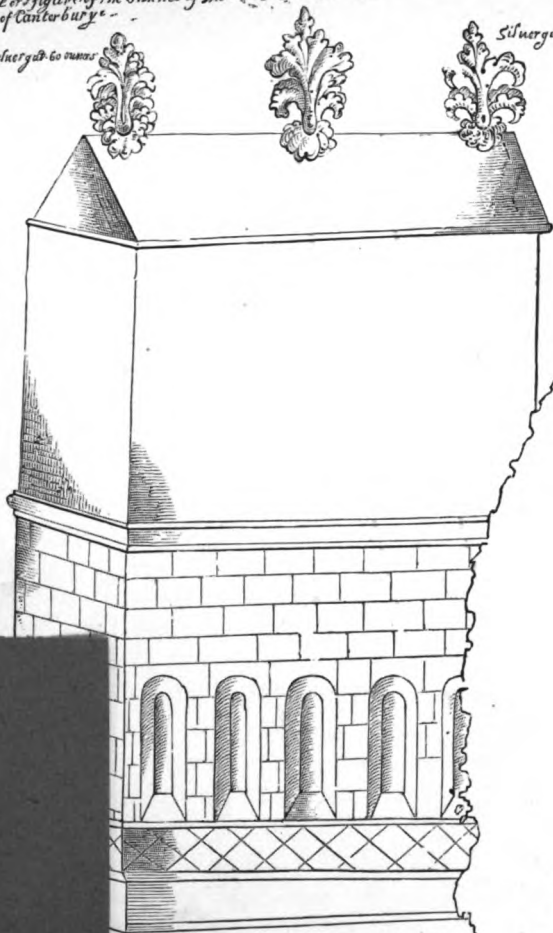
† Stanley.

*The forme or figure of the Shrine of the  
Becket of Canterbury*

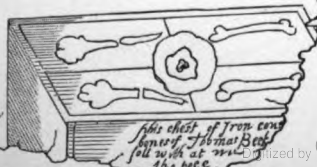
*It is 80. inches*

*Silver gilt 60 ounces*

*Silver gilt 60 ounces*

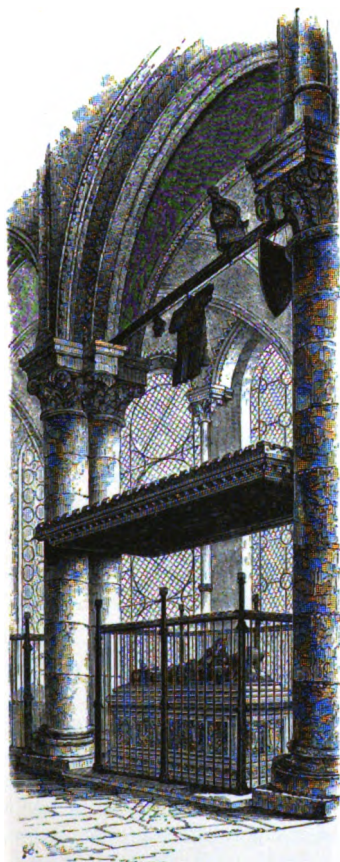


*The stone worke was first of gold, Tymbles of gold set with stone  
upon rich gold met: then againe was fevells of gold set  
together stamped with gold into the ground of gold the  
as it were men could not convey it out of the church  
of gold pointing ther into offered ther by King of France  
and nearest this stone*



*This chest of Iron con-  
tained the Shrine of Becket  
and was at the  
the place*





TOMB OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.



features are traceable, "the flat cheeks and the well-ohiselled nose, as in the effigy of his father at Westminster Abbey, and of his grandfather at Gloucester." Above are suspended the brass gauntlets; the "heaume du leopard,"—"that casque which never stooped except to time,"—lined with leather, "a proof of its being actually intended for use;" the shield of wood, covered with moulded leather; the velvet surcoat, with the arms of France and England; and the scabbard of the sword. The sword itself Cromwell is said to have carried away. These relics are all that now remain of two distinct achievements, composed of the actual accoutrements, "pur la guerre" and "pur la paix," which, according to the directions in the prince's will, had figured in his funeral procession<sup>2</sup>. They all belonged to the accoutrement "pur la guerre," and no doubt formed portions of a suit actually worn by the great English hero. Round the tomb are escutcheons of arms, charged alternately with the bearings of France and England, quartered, the shield of war by which Edward had been distinguished in the battle-field, and with the ostrich feathers and the motto "Houmont Ich diene<sup>3</sup>,"

<sup>2</sup> The will enjoined that the funeral procession should pass through the west gate, and along the High-street toward the cathedral. Two chargers, with trappings of the prince's arms and badges, and two men accoutred in his panoply and wearing his helms, were to precede the corpse. The trappings and armour were to be, severally, those used by the Prince in peace and war.

<sup>3</sup> These words, about which there is much difficulty, are probably German (Welsh antiquaries insist that the latter motto is Celtic), and "exactly express what was seen so often in the

the shield used by him in tournaments and "justes of peace." Above is the long inscription, composed by the Prince himself in Norman-French, and inserted in his will:—

"Tu qe passez ove bouche close, par la ou cest corps repose  
 Entent ce qe te dirray, sicome te dire la say.  
 Tiel come tu es, je autiel fu, tu seras tiel come je su,  
 De la mort ne pensay je mie, tant come j'avoï la vie.  
 En terre avoy grand richesse, dont je y fys grand noblesse,  
 Terre, mesons, et grand tresor, draps, chivalx, argent et or.  
 Mes ore su je povres et cheitifs, perfond en la terre gys,  
 Ma grand beaute est tout alee, ma char est tout gastee,  
 Moult est estroite ma meson, en moy na si verite non,  
 Et si ore me veïsez, je ne quide pas qe vous deïsez  
 Qe j'eusse onques hom este, si su je ore de tout changee.  
 Pur Dieu pries au celestien Roy, qe mercy eit de l'arme de  
 moy.  
 Tout cil qe pur moi prieront, ou à Dieu m'acorderont,  
 Dieu les mette en son parays, ou nul ne poet estre cheitifs."

On the canopy of the tomb is a representation of the Holy Trinity, revered with "peculiar devotion" by the Prince, and on whose feast he died. The absence of the dove between the figures of the eternal Father and of the Saviour on the Cross is remarkable; but the omission occurs in similar representations elsewhere. The whole design, with the emblems of the Evangelists at the angles, is very graceful, and should be noticed.

Prince's life, the union of 'Hoch muth,' that is, *high spirit*, with 'Ich dien,' *I serve*. They bring before us the very scene itself after the battle of Poitiers, where, after having vanquished the whole French nation, he stood behind the captive King, and served him like an attendant."—*Stanley*.

Round the canopy are hooks for the hangings bequeathed in the Prince's will,—black with red borders, embroidered with “cygnes avec têtes de dames.”

XXX. Immediately opposite, on the north side of the chapel, is the tomb of HENRY IV. (died 1413), and of his second wife, JOAN OF NAVARRE (died 1437). The King's will ordered that he should be buried “in the church at Canterbury,” (he had given much toward the building of the new nave,) and his body was accordingly brought by water to Faversham, thence by land to Canterbury; and on the Trinity Sunday after his death the funeral took place in the presence of Henry V. and all the “great nobility.” Joanna of Navarre died at Havering in 1437, and the monument is probably of her erection. The arms are those of England and France, Evreux and Navarre. The ground of the canopy is diapered with the word “soverayne” and eagles volant, the King's motto and device; and with ermines collared and chained, and the word “atemperance,” the Queen's. These are transposed, the ermines being above the King's effigy. It was asserted by the Yorkists that the King's body had been thrown into the sea, between Gravesend and Barking. There had been a great storm, and, after this Jonah offering, a calm. “Whether the King was a good man, God knows,” said Clement Maidstone's informant<sup>b</sup>. The coffin was, however, brought to Canterbury and solemnly interred. In consequence of this story the tomb was opened in 1832, in the presence of the Dean of Canterbury. Two coffins were

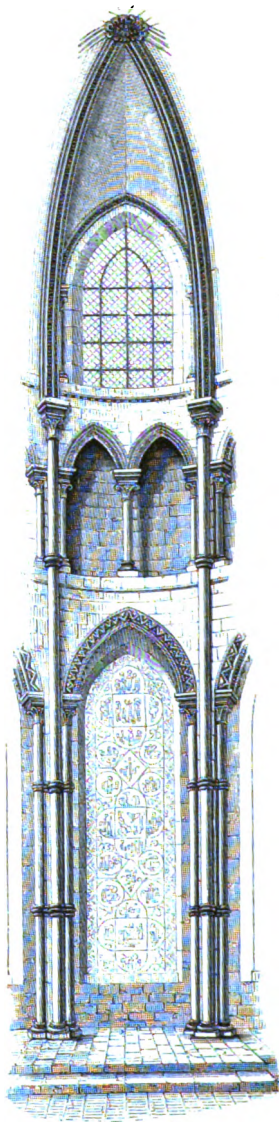
<sup>b</sup> See the narrative in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii.

found, but that of the King could not be removed without injury to the monument above. The upper part was, therefore, sawed through, and after removing a thick layer of hay, on the surface of which lay a rude cross of twigs, an inner case of lead was discovered, which being also sawed through, the lower half of the head of the body it contained was unwrapped from its foldings, "when, to the astonishment of all present, the face of the deceased King was seen in complete preservation; the nose elevated, the beard thick and matted, and of a deep russet colour, and the jaws perfect, with all the teeth in them, except one fore-tooth, which had probably been lost during the King's life." The King died at the age of forty-six. The whole was replaced after examination. The iron railings about this monument, and about that of the Black Prince, are apparently of the same age, and wrought by the same workman, as shewn by the ornamental details. This fact has led to a conjecture that the two tombs were placed simultaneously in the positions they now occupy, that of the Prince having possibly been removed here from the crypt (where his will directed it to be placed) when the memorial of Henry was erected.

Opening in the wall of the north aisle of the retro-choir, and immediately opposite his monument, is a small *chantry* founded by Henry IV., "of twey preistes for to sing and pray for my soul." The fan-vault is rich.

XXXI. At the feet of the Black Prince is the monument of Archbishop COURTENAY (1381—1396), the

NEW-YORK.



ONE BAY OF THE CORONA.

severe opponent of the Wycliffites. There is, however, some uncertainty as to the real place of interment of this archbishop, who died at Maidstone, and whose will directs that he should be buried in the churchyard there. A slab in the pavement of All Saints' Church, Maidstone, from which the brasses have been removed, still shews by their matrices that it once contained the figure of an archbishop, and has accordingly been considered to mark the tomb of Courtenay. On the other hand, the leiger-book of Christ Church, Canterbury, directly asserts that he was buried in the cathedral, which is probably the fact. Why this most distinguished place was assigned to him does not appear. He was, however, executor to the Black Prince, and a great benefactor to the cathedral. Beyond his monument is that of Odo COLIGNY, Cardinal Chatillion, who, on account of his Huguenot tendencies, fled to England in 1568, and was favourably received by Elizabeth. He died at Canterbury on his way to France, poisoned by an apple given him by one of his servants.

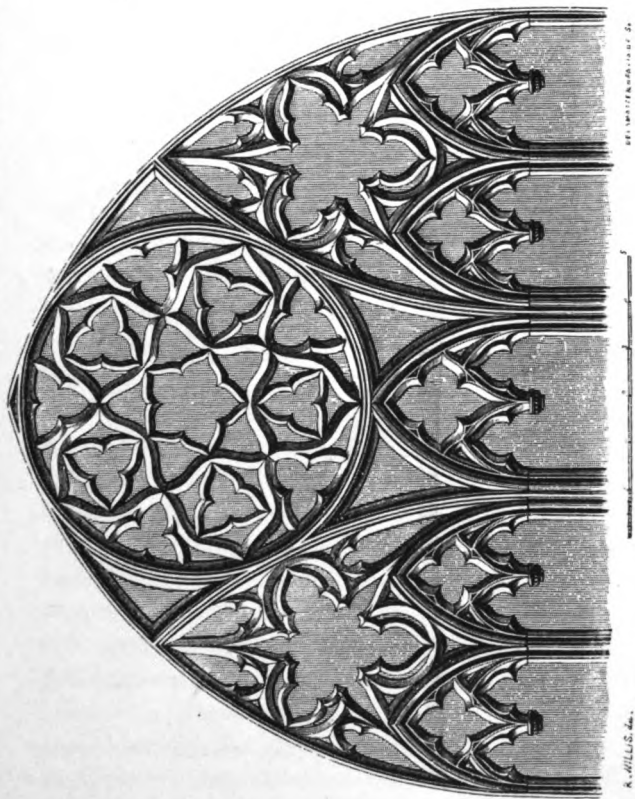
East of the tomb of Henry IV. is a kneeling figure, by BERNINI, of Dean WORTON, the first Dean of Canterbury after the foundation of the collegiate church by Henry VIII.

XXXII. The great lightness and beauty of the *Corona* [Plate XI.], the extreme east end of the cathedral, are remarkable. It is English William's work. When Archbishop Anselm was at Rome in the early part of his episcopate, and attending a council in the Lateran, a question arose as to his proper place, since no arch-

bishop of Canterbury had as yet been present at a Roman council. Pope Pascal II. decided it by assigning to the "*alterius orbis papa*" a seat in the "*corona*," the most honourable position<sup>c</sup>. It is possible that this fact may have led the architects, on the rebuilding of the choir, to make the addition of an eastern apse, or corona, which did not exist in the earlier church. In it were the shrines of Archbishop Odo and Wilfrid of York, and a golden reliquary in the form of a head, containing some relic of Becket, perhaps the severed scalp. By a confusion of its proper name with this relic the eastern apse came to be generally known as "*Becket's crown*." On the north side is the tomb of Cardinal POLE, Queen Mary's archbishop (1556—1558), and the last archbishop buried at Canterbury. His royal blood gave him a title to so distinguished a place of sepulture.

XXXIII. Descending the *south aisle* of the retro-choir, the first tomb against the wall is an unknown one, in style rather later than the completion of the chapel itself. It is attributed to Archbishop THEOBALD (1139—1161), but without reason. Still passing west, down the pilgrim-worn steps, we come to *St. Anselm's tower and chapel*. [Plate XII.] The screen of the

<sup>c</sup> "In *corona* sedes illi posita est, qui locus non obscuri honoris in tali conventu solet haberi."—*Eadmer*, Hist. Novor., ii. p. 92. See also the notice of Anselm in Part II. The words there quoted from William of Malmesbury (who attributes them to Pascal II.), "*Includamus hunc in orbe nostro*," evidently refer to this corona.



WINDOW IN ANSELM'S CHAPEL.



chapel is formed by the tomb of Archbishop SIMON DE MEPHAM (1328—1333), "a beautiful and singular work, consisting of an altar-tomb placed between a double arcade." This archbishop was worried to death by Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, who resisted his visitation as metropolitan, and who encountered Mepham with a company of armed followers at the west door of Exeter Cathedral. "This affront did half break Mepham's heart," says Fuller, "and the Pope, siding with the Bishop against him, broke the other half thereof." He returned to Kent and died.

XXXIV. *Anselm's tower* is part of Prior Ernulf's work, like St. Andrew's opposite. The original south window was replaced by an elaborate Decorated one of five lights by Prior Henry de Estria in 1336. There were pendent bosses in the heads of the lights, like those of his choir-screen door, but these have disappeared. At the east end was the altar of SS. Peter and Paul, and behind it was buried ANSELM (1093—1109), of all the archbishops, with the exception of Becket, the most widely-renowned throughout Europe. (See Part II.)

Above the chapel is a small room, with a window looking into the cathedral, which served as the *watching-chamber*, in which a monk was nightly stationed to keep ward over the rich shrine of St. Thomas. "On the occasion of fires the shrine was additionally guarded by a troop of fierce ban-dogs." The watching-chamber is said, but without authority, to have been used as the prison of King John of France.

XXXV. West of Anselm's chapel, and on the choir side, is the tomb of SIMON DE SUDBURY (1375—1381), the archbishop who built the west gate of Canterbury and much of the city walls; who reproved the "superstitious" pilgrimages to St. Thomas, crowned Richard II., and was himself beheaded by the Kentish rebels under Wat Tyler. (See Part II.) "Not many years ago, when this tomb was accidentally opened, the body was seen within, wrapped in cere-cloth, a leaden ball occupying the vacant place of the head<sup>d</sup>." In commemoration of the benefits Sudbury bestowed on the town, the mayor and aldermen used to pay an annual visit to his tomb, to "pray for his soul." Next to this monument, west, is the canopied tomb of Archbishop STRATFORD (1333—1348), Edward the Third's Grand Justiciary during his absence in Flanders; and below is the tomb of Archbishop KEMP (1452—1454), surmounted "by a most curious double canopy or tester of woodwork."

XXXVI. The *south-east transept* [Plate XIII.], which we have now reached, has the same architectural character as the north; and displays William of Sens' work on Ernulf's walls, completed by English William. In the two apses were the altars of St. John and St. Gregory, with the tombs or shrines of four Saxon archbishops. Below the easternmost window in the south wall are some indications in the broken pillars of the tomb of Archbishop WINCHELSEA (1294—1313), whose contest with Edward I. touching clerical

<sup>d</sup> Stanley.



SOUTH-EAST TRANSEPT.



subsidies, and whose great almsgiving—2,000 loaves every Sunday and Thursday to the poor when corn was dear, and 3,000 when cheap—caused him to be regarded as a saint. Oblations were brought to his tomb, but the Pope would not consent to canonize him. (See Part II.) His monument is said to have been destroyed at the same time as Becket's shrine.

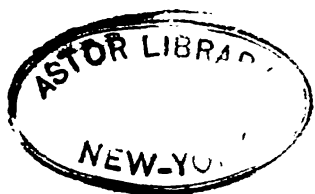
In this transept is now placed the *patriarchal chair* of Purbeck marble, called "St. Augustine's chair;" traditionally said to be that in which the pagan kings of Kent were enthroned, and which, presented by Ethelbert to Augustine, has ever since served as the metropolitan *cathedra* of Canterbury. It is certainly of high antiquity, but the old throne was of a single block—this is in three pieces—and Purbeck stone was (it is said) unused until long after the time of Augustine. In this venerable chair the archbishops are still enthroned, in person or by proxy.

XXXVII. West of the transept, against the south wall of the choir, is the mutilated effigy of Archbishop HUBERT WALTER (1193—1205), who having accompanied Richard Cœur de Lion and Archbishop Baldwin to the Holy Land, was, on the latter's death, chosen archbishop in the crusaders' camp at Acre. The paneling below the tomb is much later. Beyond is WALTER REYNOLDS (1313—1327), the courtier archbishop of Edward II., whom he deserted in his adversity.

XXXVIII. The steps leading down into the great south *transept* preserve the same arrangement as that of the opposite transept of the Martyrdom at the time

of Becket's murder. The transept itself is part of Chillenden's work. The stained glass of the south window should be noticed. In the pavement, close at the foot of the stairs descending from the tower, is the tombstone of MERIC CASAUBON, Archbishop Laud's prebendary (died 1671); adjoining is that of SHUCKFORD of the "Connection."

XXXIX. Opening east from this transept is *St. Michael's*, or the *Warrior's* chapel. The builder is unknown. It is Perpendicular, about 1370, with a "complex lierne vault." In it are "sundry fair monuments." The central one is that erected by Margaret Holland (died 1437) to the memory of her two husbands, JOHN BEAUFORT, Earl of Somerset, half-brother of Henry IV. (died 1409), *left*, and THOMAS OF CLARENCE, "qui fuit in bello clarus, nec clarior ullus," second son of Henry IV., killed by a lance-wound in the face at the battle of Baugé, 1421, *right*. At the east end, singularly placed, the head alone appearing through the wall, is the stone coffin of STEPHEN LANGTON (1207—1228), the great archbishop of John and Magna Charta, "whose work still remains among us in the familiar division of the Bible into chapters." Professor Willis suggests that the tomb was *outside* when the chapel was built, and that it was arched over by the constructors. The altar-slab must have covered the coffin, a position most unusual, unless for the remains of a distinguished saint. It was that chosen by Charles V. for himself at Yuste, where the church would only allow his wish to be carried out with considerable modification.

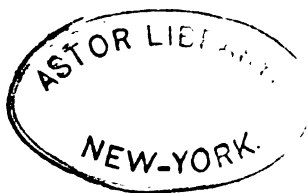




ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM'S MONUMENT.



THE CRYPT.



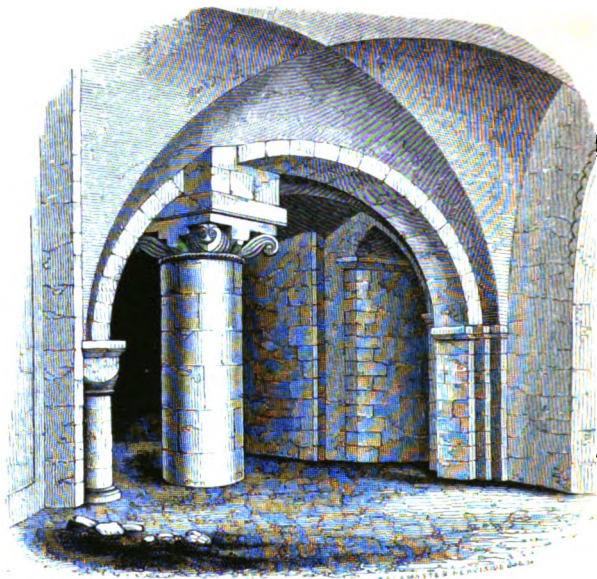


FIG. 1. ERNULF'S WORK.

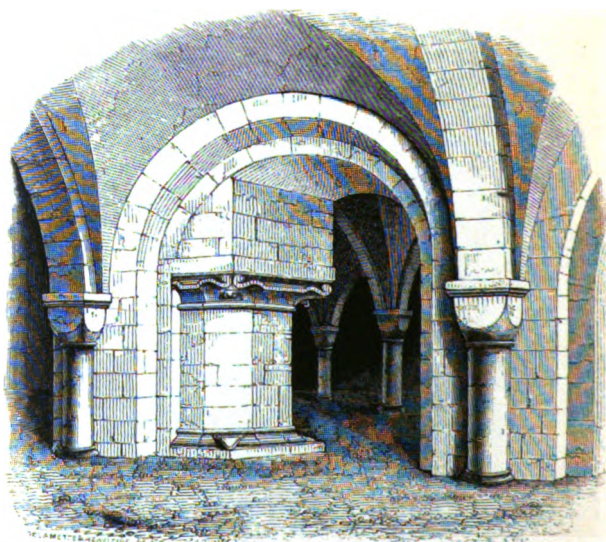
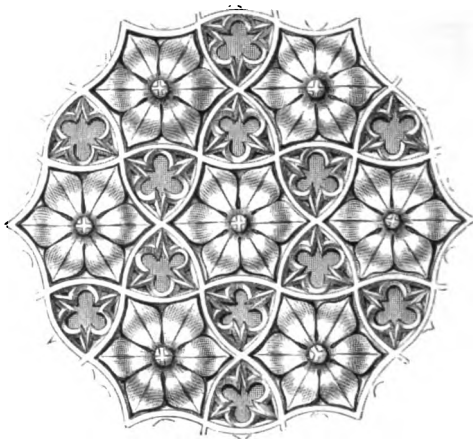


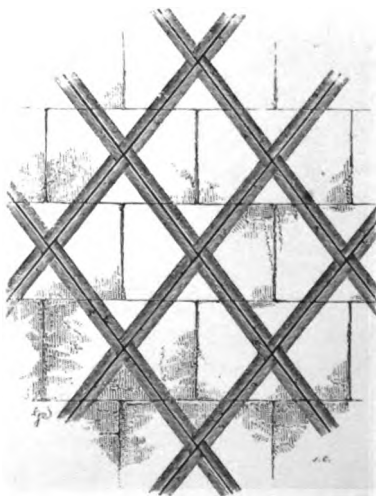
FIG. 2. WILLIAM OF SENS' WORK.

PIERS IN THE CRYPT





DIAPER, SOUTH SIDE OF CHOIR.



DIAPER IN PASSAGE TO CRFYT.

But the memory of Archbishop Langton was greatly revered.

The remaining monuments are of much later date. The Lady THORNHURST's (died 1609) ruff and farthingale deserve notice. Her virtues, it would seem from her epitaph, were not less remarkable:—

“Si laudata Venus, Juno, si sacra Minerva,  
Quis te collaudet, femina? Talis eris.”

XL. Passing through the gallery under the tower stairs, we return to the Martyrdom transept, and from it enter the *crypt*, or *undercroft*, the same that existed under the choir of Conrad. [Plates XIV., XV.] The walls near the transept are ornamented by a curious diaper [Plate XVI.], also found on a fragment of the chapter-house at Rochester, of which place Ernulf, who constructed this crypt, afterwards became bishop. The crypt of Canterbury is one of five English eastern crypts founded before 1085; the others are Winchester, Gloucester, Rochester, and Worcester. From this time they ceased to be constructed, except as a continuation of former ones\*. The enrichments on the capitals of the columns are occasionally unfinished, proving that they were worked after being set in place. On one, at the south-west side, two sides of the block are plain; the third has the ornament roughed out; and the fourth is completely finished†. Some of the shafts, also, are rudely fluted, whilst others are untouched. In the roof are rings, each surrounded by

\* Willis.

† See woodcut, p. 395.

a crown of thorns, from which lamps were suspended.

The whole crypt was dedicated to the Virgin; and toward the east end, is the *Chapel of our Lady Undercroft*, enclosed by late Perpendicular open stone-work. It was, says Erasmus, surrounded by a double rail of iron. "Quid metuit Virgo? nihil, opinor, nisi fures." In beauty this shrine exceeded that of Walsingham. Its wealth was indescribable. Only a very few "magnates" were permitted to see it. The niche over the altar for the figure still remains; the bracket has a carving of the Annunciation. In the centre of the pavement is the gravestone of the Cardinal Archbishop MORTON (1486—1500). Faithful throughout to Henry VI., he effected the union of the two Roses by the marriage of Henry of Richmond to Elizabeth of York. (See Part II.) His *monument* is at the south-west corner of the crypt, much defaced by Blue Dick. The *mort* or hawk on a *tun* is the Archbishop's rebus.

In the south screen of the Lady-chapel is the monument of Lady MOHUN of Dunster (about 1395). A perpetual chantry was founded by her.

XLI. The whole of the crypt was given up by Elizabeth in 1561 to the French and Flemish refugees, "they whom the rod of Alva bruised," who fled to England—then, as now, the asylum of Europe—in great numbers. A company of clothiers and silk weavers ("gentle and profitable strangers," as Archbishop Parker called them) established themselves at Canterbury, where their numbers rapidly increased; they

were about five hundred in 1676. They had their own pastors and services, with which Archbishop Laud attempted to interfere, but his attention was directed elsewhere by the breaking out of the Scottish war. The main body of the crypt was occupied by their silks, and the numerous French inscriptions on the roof are due to this congregation, which still continues to exist, although their silk trade has long since disappeared. The south side-aisle was separated for their place of worship, and in it they still regularly assemble. The long table is that at which they sit to receive the Sacrament.

Forming the entrance to the French Church, east, is the *chantry*, founded by the BLACK PRINCE on his marriage in 1368. On the vaulting are his arms, those of Edward III., and what seems to be the face of his wife, the "Fair Maid." For permission to found this chantry he left to the cathedral the manor of "Fauke's-hall" (Vauxhall), still the property of the Chapter. Still further east is *St. John's Chapel*, divided into two by a stone wall, the inner part being quite dark. On the roof are some interesting tempera paintings. Pugin conjectured with great probability that this dark chapel was a contrivance for hiding the principal treasures of the church in time of need. Beyond it is the tomb of ISABEL COUNTESS OF ATHOLE (died 1292), heiress of Chilham, near Canterbury.

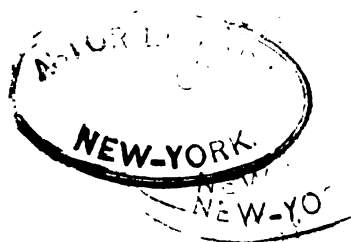
XLII. The *eastern part of the crypt*, under Trinity Chapel and Becket's Crown, is the work of English William, and differs greatly from the sombre gloom of

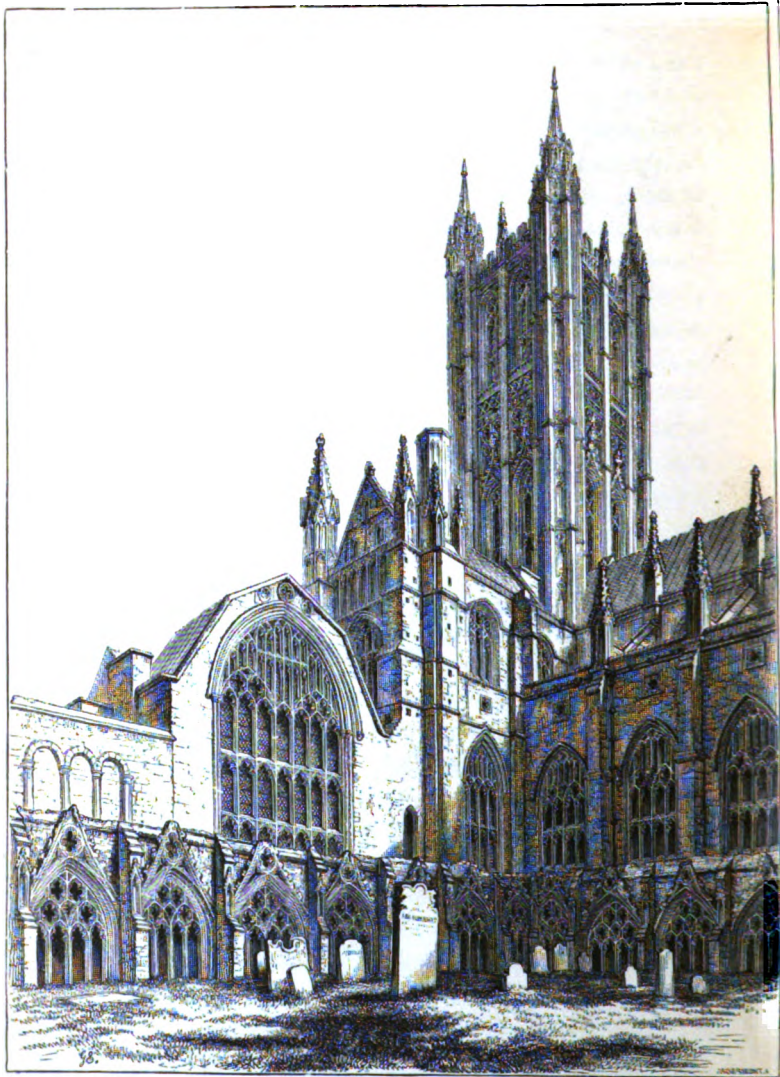
Ernulf's building. "The work from its position and office is of a massive and bold character, but the unusual loftiness prevents it from assuming the character of a crypt<sup>s</sup>." The windows have been recently opened, and its beauties made more apparent. The abaci of the piers are round, a peculiarity which distinguishes English William's work from that of William of Sens.

In the earlier crypt, which existed under Trinity Chapel before the rebuilding, and which, though not so lofty, must have resembled this in arrangement, Becket was laid in a marble sarcophagus the day after the murder. A wall was built about it, in each end of which were two windows, so that pilgrims might look in and kiss the tomb itself. It was covered with tapers, the offerings of pilgrims, and hung round with waxen legs and arms, and such votive memorials as may still be seen about great continental shrines<sup>h</sup>. Here Becket remained until removed to the upper church in 1220; and in this earlier vault took place one of the most remarkable scenes of the Middle Ages,—the penance of Henry II.,—who, two years after the murder, when all seemed darkening round him, determined to make a further attempt at propitiating the saint. Living on bread and water from the time of his arrival at Southampton, he walked barefoot through Canterbury, from St. Dunstan's Church to the cathedral, where, after kneeling in the Martyrdom transept, he was led into the crypt. There, removing his cloak, and having placed his head within one of the openings of the tomb, he received five strokes

<sup>s</sup> Willis.

<sup>h</sup> Benedict, *De Miraculis*.





CHAPTER HOUSE AND ANGEL TOWER. ;

from the *balai* or monastic rod of each bishop and abbot who was present, and three from each of the eighty monks. He passed the whole night in the crypt, fasting, and resting against one of the pillars, and finally departed, fully absolved. That very day the Scottish King, William the Lion, was taken prisoner at Richmond; and connecting his capture with the power of the Martyr, he founded, on his return to Scotland, the Abbey of Aberbrothick, to the memory of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

XLIII. We may now return to the *exterior* of the cathedral. Of the two *western towers* that north is modern, and was finished in 1840 under the superintendence of the late G. Austin, Esq. In digging the foundations, skeletons of oxen are said to have been found at a very great depth. The soil is a deep gravel. The tower then taken down was Norman, and called the "Arundel Steeple," from a ring of five bells placed in it by that archbishop. The *south*, or *Dunstan* steeple, is the work of Archbishop CHICHELE (1413—1444) and Prior GOLDSTONE II. (1495—1517).

The great *central tower*, called "Bell Harry," from a small bell hung at the top of it, is entirely due to Prior Goldstone II. It replaced that called the "Angel Steeple," from the figure of a gilt angel crowning it, the first object that caught the eye of pilgrims advancing to Canterbury. The height of the present tower, one of the most beautiful examples of Perpendicular work existing, is 235 feet. [Plate XVII.] An excellent view of it may be obtained from the north-west angle

of the cloisters (see § L.), where it groups admirably with the surrounding objects, "being sufficient to give dignity to the whole, but without overpowering any<sup>1</sup>."

The exterior arcades of the chapels, [Plate IV.], eastward, indicate the works of Ernulf and Anselm, already pointed out from within. The exterior of the corona at the extreme east end was never completed. It is now (1860) about to be finished under the direction of Mr. G. G. Scott. The length of the entire cathedral, from the corona to the west front, is 522 feet.

XLIV. The *precincts* of the cathedral, it must be remembered, exhibit throughout traces of the great *Benedictine monastery* founded by Augustine and confirmed by Lanfranc. The early archbishops lived in common with the monks. Lanfranc's rule first gave them a *prior*, and the archbishops from this time were more separated, although they still continued the nominal heads of the convent, and the monks long insisted that the archbishop should always be a Benedictine. The priors, personages of great importance, had the right of wearing the mitre, and of carrying the episcopal staff.

XLV. The Norman doorway, now built into the precinct wall east of the choir, formerly admitted from the *exterior cemetery* to the *interior*, or the cemetery of the convent, into which two portions the south precincts, now occupied by canons' houses, were mainly divided. The part now called *The Oaks*, running south beyond the choir, was the monastery garden. Some-

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, p. 851.

where here, too, was the ancient *school*, on the site of that founded by Archbishop Theodore for the study of Greek, and on which he bestowed many Greek books, including a copy of Homer, thus marking Canterbury as the earliest place of Greek study in England.

XLVI. A narrow flagged passage leading round the cathedral opens to the Priors' or Green Court. In this passage the first house, *left*, adjoining the archway, formed part of the *Honours*, or *Maister Honours*, a set of state chambers belonging to the prior, and used on occasions of special dignity. Pilgrims of high rank were lodged here. Beyond these, running west, was the *infirmary*, with its *church*, the arches of which may be traced in the walls of the houses, *left*. A door from the infirmary opened into the convent garden, conveniently for the sick monks.

XLVII. Somewhere on the north side of the choir was the famous *well of St. Thomas*, of which no trace is now visible. The dust and blood from the pavement, after the murder, are said to have been thrown into it. The spring changed four times into blood and once into milk, and constant miracles were wrought by the water. This marvel did not appear, however, until the fourteenth century, and is unknown by the earlier chroniclers. From its recorded effects it seems to have been slightly chalybeate, like the well of Zem-Zem at Mecca.

XLVIII. Beyond the infirmary is the *Dark Entry*, leading on one side into the cloisters, on the other into the Green Court. The passage has of late years been

uncovered, and the arches opened. The *Norman* portions of this entry seem to have been the work of Prior WIBEKT (died 1167), who certainly built the curious bell-shaped tower in the garden without, adjoining the cloisters. This building (the *Castellum Aquæ*) formed part of a complicated system for supplying the monks with water, which was brought into it from the fields without at some distance, and distributed in pipes all over the monastery. It is now called *the Baptistery*, and the upper part contains the marble font given by Bishop Warner, and removed here from the cathedral nave. It is accessible from the south-eastern transept and from the chapter library.

XLIX. A staircase (on the *right* going towards the Green Court) leads to the *chapter library*. This was at first the prior's chapel, then the dean's, until it was applied to its present purpose. It contains a good collection of books, made accessible with great liberality. There is a case of Bibles and Prayer-books of very high interest. The most remarkable manuscript is the charter of EADRED (A.D. 949), giving the minster built at Reculver (the ancient *Regulbium*, and the place to which Ethelbert retired after the grant of his palace at Canterbury to Augustine), *cum tota villa*, to the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury. This charter is in all probability an autograph of Dunstan, *propriis digitorum articulis* of which famous archbishop it professes to be written. At the end of the room hangs an ancient painting on wood (perhaps *temp.* Richard II.), representing Queen Edgiva. The lines beneath commemorate her virtues,

and her gift to the convent of "Monkton and Minster, monkes to feede."

L. Again descending, we enter the *cloisters*, generally visited, however, from the transept of the Martyrdom. They are late Perpendicular, but here and there shew Norman portions, indicating that the ancient site is preserved. A door, still existing on the west side, opened to the archbishop's palace, and marks the position of that through which Becket passed on his way to the cathedral. The use of the circular opening at the side is uncertain. (Remark the very fine view of the central tower, chapter-house, &c., gained from this point: see § XLIII.) The arched door on the north side of the cloister—where are still traces of a laver with a double cistern, for the ablution of the monks—led into the refectory. The cloister windows were glazed, and the walls painted with "carols" and texts by Prior **SELLING** (died 1494). The shields on the roof are those of benefactors. The central space is said, but most improbably, to have served for the herb-garden of the convent.

On the east side is the *chapter-house*, the work of Archbishop **ARUNDEL** (1472—1492). Its roof, of Irish oak, is very rich and curious. At the upper end are seats for the prior and great officers. The stone bench round the walls was for the monks. The scourging of Henry II., which is often said to have taken place here, was really inflicted in the crypt: (see § XLII.) After the Reformation the chapter-house was used for preaching, and thence acquired the name of "the Sermon-

house." Traces may still be seen of the arrangements for galleries.

LI. Returning through the Dark Entry, we may enter the *Prior's* or *Green Court*, formerly surrounded by the principal domestic buildings of the monastery.

The arch and ruins adjoining the entry were portions of *La Gloriette*, the prior's ordinary apartments, built by Prior Hathbrande about 1370. The present *deanery* (on the east side of the court) was also comprised in the prior's lodgings, and contained the great stone hall called *Mensa Magistri*. In the deanery are portraits of the deans, beginning with that of Dr. Wotton, the first after the dissolution.

The ruins now remaining on the *south* side are mainly those of the dormitory and connected buildings. The refectory or 'fratery' was here, with kitchens and cellarers' lodgings attached.

On the *west* side is the *porter's gate*, the most ancient gate of the monastery now remaining, through which provisions and necessities of all kinds were brought in. Its late Norman ornamentation is curious.

LII. The *Norman staircase* [Plate XVIII.] leading up to the hall of the Grammar-school is the only construction of the sort known to be in existence. The work is late Norman, although the pillars resemble those with plain capitals in the crypt. The hall above was rebuilt in 1855. [Plate XIX. See Plate V.] It takes the place of that called the north, or "Hog-hall," not, "as some say, from the dressing of hogs in the undercroft of it," but from its size and height (*hoga*,





NORMAN STAIRCASE.





NORMAN STAIRCASE. INTERIOR, LOOKING OUTWARDS.

*hoch*). It seems to have anciently served for the stewards of the monastery courts.

LIII. In the court which is entered through the arches under the hall was the *almonry* of the priory. At the dissolution, Henry VIII. retained these buildings in his own hands, and converted some portions of them into a mint. In the remainder he established the *King's*, or *Grammar-school*, for fifty scholars. It maintains a very high reputation. Among its distinguished scholars were Marlowe the dramatist, a native of Canterbury, and Lord Chief Justice Tenterden, who declared that "to the free school of Canterbury he owed, under the Divine blessing, the first and best means of his elevation in life."

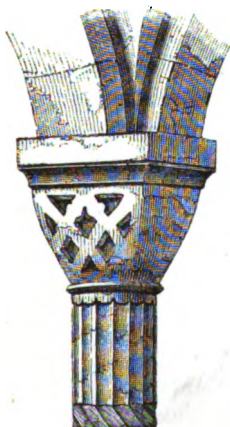
LIV. We pass out of the precincts by the porter's gate into Palace-street, where an arched doorway is nearly all that now remains of the *archbishop's palace*. The ruined Saxon palace here was rebuilt by Lanfranc. In the Norman building the scenes took place between Becket and the knights before he entered the cathedral. The great hall, famous for its entertainments, was begun by Archbishop Hubert Walter, and finished by Stephen Langton. On the marriage of Edward I. with Margaret of France there were four days of feasting here. In 1514 Warham entertained Charles V., Queen Joanna of Arragon, Henry VIII., and Queen Catherine, on which occasion there was a "solemne dauncing" in the great hall. In 1573 Parker feasted Queen Elizabeth here; but the greatest festivities recorded took place at the enthronization of Warham in 1503. The

high steward of the archbishop had the right, after the enthronization, of stopping with his train for three days at one of the archbishop's nearest manors, to be bled, "*ad minuendam sanguinem*," a proof of the consequences expected to result from the vast outpourings of yppocrasse and clary usual on such occasions. The palace was pillaged and fell into a ruinous state under the Puritan rule, and on the Restoration an act was passed dispensing the archbishops from restoring it. From this time they have had no official residence in Canterbury.

LV. A remarkable view of the cathedral may be gained from the mound in the Dane John, where it is seen above thick masses of trees. The best *distant* views of the city and cathedral will be obtained from Harbledown, one mile west [Frontispiece],—the tourist should walk through the churchyard of Harbledown, across the fields to St. Thomas's-hill,—and from the hill behind St. Martin's church, where the great cathedral appears rising from the centre of "the first English Christian city," with St. Augustine's College, the modern successor of the monastery established by the apostle of England, nestling close below. "From the Christianity here established has flowed by direct consequence—first, the Christianity of Germany; then, after a long interval, of North America; and lastly, we may trust in time, of all India and all Australasia. The view from St. Martin's-hill is indeed one of the most inspiring that can be found in the world: there is none to which I would more willingly take any one who

doubted whether a small beginning could lead to a great and lasting good; none which carries us more vividly back into the past, or more hopefully forward to the future<sup>k</sup>."

<sup>k</sup> Stanley.



Pillar in Crypt.



# CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

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## PART II.

### *History of the See, with Short Lives of the principal Archbishops.*

THAT Christianity was introduced and widely accepted throughout Roman Britain during the second and third centuries, may be regarded as certain, although we must consent to remain in ignorance of the exact time and manner of its introduction. "The depth of her (Britain's) Christian cultivation appears from her fertility in saints and in heretics. St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, probably imbibed the first fervour of those Christian feelings, which wrought so powerfully on the Christianity of the age, in her native Britain. St. Alban, from his name and from his martyrdom, which there seems no reason to doubt, was probably a Roman soldier. Our legendary annals are full of other holy names; while Pelagius, and probably his companion Celestine, have given a less favourable celebrity to the British Church\*."

But as Teutonic settlers gradually took possession of the southern and eastern coasts of Britain, the ancient Christianity of the island retreated before them, until the only resting-places left to it were the mountains of Wales, those of the Scottish border, and the numerous monasteries of Ireland, then peaceful and flourishing. Saxons, Jutes, and Angles brought with them their own heathen creeds and

\* Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. 55.

traditions; and the Christian churches which they found in the districts of which they took possession were either destroyed or converted into temples of Thor and Woden. For nearly a century and a-half (between 449, when, according to the Saxon Chronicle, Hengist and Horsa landed in Thanet, and 597, the year of Augustine's arrival) the Saxons in England remained entirely pagan.

[A.D. 597—May 26, 604.] The story of the arrival of AUGUSTINE, Prior of the Benedictine Convent of St. Andrew on the Cælian hill, who brought with him forty monks as his companions and assistants, will best be read in the very interesting pages of Dr. Stanley<sup>b</sup>. The way had been prepared for his labours by the marriage of Ethelbert the Æscing, King of Kent, with the Christian princess Bertha, a daughter of the royal house of Clovis. The baptism of Ethelbert took place on the 2nd of June, in the year 597; and so rapidly did the conversion of the whole district follow, that on Christmas-day in the same year 10,000 Saxons were baptized in the waters of the Swale, at the mouth of the Medway. Soon after the baptism of Ethelbert, Augustine revisited France in order to receive episcopal consecration; which he did (Nov. 17, 597) from the hands of Ætherius, Archbishop of Arles. On his return to Kent he sent Lawrence and Peter, two of his companions, to Rome, in order to report the success of the mission to Pope Gregory. They brought back with them to England the archiepiscopal pall, which confirmed Augustine in his position as first metropolitan of the English Church. A second body of monks also accompanied them.

At the same time Gregory sent to Augustine his plan for the ecclesiastical division of the entire island. There were to be two archbishops, one (after Augustine's death, who was to remain at Canterbury) at London, and one at

<sup>b</sup> Historical Memorials of Canterbury — "The Landing of Augustine."

York. Under each there were to be twelve bishops. The precedence of the archbishops was to be determined by priority of consecration. This arrangement, however, which was of course only to be carried out as each province became Christianized, was never completely effected. The primacy was never permanently removed from Canterbury; and the archbishops of York, after some struggles, finally yielded all pretensions to even an occasional precedence.

St. Martin's, the Christian church in which Queen Bertha had worshipped before the coming of Augustine, and Ethelbert's heathen temple, both outside the walls of Canterbury, were the first grants of the King to his new teachers. On the site of the latter Augustine founded the church of St. Pancras, and afterwards the abbey dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, but generally known by the name of its founder. After his recognition as Archbishop he received from Ethelbert the royal palace in Canterbury, and an ancient church—British or Roman—which closely adjoined it. This church, which was traditionally said to have been built by Lucius, the shadowy British king whose conversion seems to be an entire fable, occupied part of the site of the present cathedral. It was restored by Archbishop Odo (942—959), and finally perished by fire in the year 1067.

\* See Gregory's letter in Bede, H. E., i. 29. "The formation of the English sees was very gradual, and the completion of the number of twenty-four did not take place till the reign of Henry VIII. But it is curious that this should have been precisely the same number fixed in Gregory's instructions to Augustine; and at any rate, the great size of the dioceses was in conformity with his suggestions. Britain was to him almost an unknown island. Probably he thought it might be about the size of Sicily or Sardinia, the only large islands he had ever seen, and that twenty-four bishoprics would be sufficient. At any rate, so he divided, and so, with the variation of giving only four, instead of twelve, to the province of York, it was consciously or unconsciously followed out in after times."—*Stanley, Landing of St. Augustine.*

The vain attempt of Augustine to bring under his supremacy, as metropolitan, the British Christians of Wales and its borders, who steadily maintained their traditions derived through the Greek Church, "which it is curious to find thus, at the verge of the Roman world, maintaining some of its usages and co-equality<sup>d</sup>," need not be dwelt on here. He seems to have visited and preached in Dorsetshire; and shortly before his death, two new bishoprics, the commencement of Gregory's plan, were established, still under Ethelbert's protection, at Rochester and at London. (See those Cathedrals.) Augustine died on the 26th of May, 605, and was interred, according to the old Roman fashion, by the side of the road which led from Canterbury toward the coast, and along which he and his companions had advanced on their first arrival. Eight years afterwards, on the completion of the abbey church of St. Peter and St. Paul, his remains were removed from their first resting-place, and deposited in the north transept.

[A.D. 604—619.] Before his death, Augustine had himself consecrated LAWRENCE, one of his original companions, as his successor; "an unusual and almost unprecedented step, but one which it was thought the unsettled state of the newly-converted country demanded<sup>e</sup>." The death of Ethelbert occurred in 616, and his son Eadbald, who succeeded him, relapsed into paganism, and drew with him the mass of the people, a change to which the newly converted countries were perpetually subject. At the same time, Mellitus, Bishop of London, was expelled by the East Saxons; and the three bishops, Mellitus, Justus of Rochester, and Lawrence, determined to withdraw altogether from a country in which their labours now seemed hopeless. Mellitus and Justus crossed to France accordingly; but Lawrence resolved to make a last attempt at the conversion of Eadbald, and succeeded by means of the well-known stratagem, exhibiting to the awe-struck King the marks of

<sup>d</sup> Milman.

<sup>e</sup> Stanley.

the stripes which, as he averred, St. Peter himself had inflicted as a punishment for his cowardice in abandoning his see. Lawrence recalled Mellitus and Justus, the latter of whom returned to Rochester; but the men of Essex would not receive Mellitus, who, on the death of Lawrence in 619, succeeded him at Canterbury.

[A.D. 619—624.] MELLITUS had been one of the second company, which came to Britain with Lawrence and Peter. He was the first Bishop of London. Nothing is recorded of him after he became archbishop.

[A.D. 624—627.] JUSTUS, the first Bishop of Rochester, one of the same company, succeeded.

[A.D. 627—653.] HONORIUS, who may possibly have been one of the original companions of Augustine, was consecrated by Paulinus, first Archbishop of York, at Lincoln; in the "church of stone" which Paulinus had built there after the conversion of Blæcca, 'præfect' of the city. On the death of Honorius, the see, from some unexplained cause, remained vacant for eighteen months.

[A.D. 655—664.] DEUS DEDIT, the first Saxon archbishop, whose name before his consecration was Frithona, was consecrated by Ithamar of Rochester, himself a Saxon, and the first native bishop of the English Church.

For four years after the death of Deus Dedit the see of Canterbury remained vacant. A great plague was desolating the whole of Europe; and Wighard, a native Saxon, who had been despatched to Rome for consecration, was cut off by it, together with all his followers. For some time the care of the province was entrusted to Wilfrid of York, but in 668 Pope Vitalian consecrated archbishop and despatched to England

<sup>1</sup> There had been a Pope named Deus Dedit (A.D. 615—618). The name belongs to a class much affected by the African prelates, among whom the Bishops "Quod Vult Deus" and "Deo Gratias" occur. In their use of Scriptural names they "anticipated our Puritans." See Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, vol. i. p. 190.

[A.D. 668—690.] THEODORE, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and thus a fellow-townsmen of the Apostle of the Gentiles. The archbishopric had at first been offered to Hadrian, an Italian abbot, who could not be prevailed upon to accept it, but who accompanied Theodore to England, and became abbot of St. Augustine's monastery at Canterbury. "Vitalian's nomination awoke no jealousy, but profound gratitude. It was not the appointment of a splendid and powerful primate to a great and wealthy Church, but a successor to the missionary Augustine. But Theodorus, if he brought not ambition, brought the Roman love of order and organization, to the yet wild and divided island; and the profound peace which prevailed might tempt him to reduce the more than octarchy of independent bishops into one harmonious community. As yet there were Churches in England; not one Church." All the Saxon kingdoms, with the exception of Sussex, that of the South Saxons, had by this time, nominally at least, embraced Christianity; and each had received its Christian bishop. The great object of Theodore seems to have been the effectual extension of his authority, as metropolitan, over the whole island, which he traversed soon after his arrival, establishing everywhere the discipline of the Latin Church, and especially regulating the due observance of Easter. Throughout England also he introduced the Gregorian system of chanting, which had hitherto been practised in Kent alone. He summoned a council at Hertford, "which enacted many laws for the regulation of the power of the bishops, the rights of monasteries, on keeping of Easter, on divorces, and unlawful marriages;" and then, after dividing the great bishoprics in East Anglia and Mercia, and deposing two refractory bishops, he proceeded "on his sole spiritual authority, with the temporal aid of the King, to divide the bishopric of York into three sees." This arrangement was disputed by Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, who appealed to Rome, and

† Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, ii. 83.

to whom Archbishop Theodore himself, on his death-bed, confessed that he had acted unjustly. Theodore, the "philosopher," as he is called in the letter of Pope Agatho to the general council assembled at Constantinople (A.D. 680), is to be regarded as the first teacher of Greek learning in England. He established a Greek school at Canterbury; and among the books which he brought to his remote diocese was a complete copy of Homer. Bede asserts that pupils of Theodore and Hadrian existed in his day, who understood both Greek and Latin as well as their native Saxon.

Archbishop Theodore, like his predecessor, was interred in St. Augustine's Abbey; where the following lines were preserved, recording the virtues of the first seven primates:—

*"Septem sunt Angli primates, et proto-patres.  
Septem rectores, septem caloque triones;  
Septem cisternæ vitæ, septemque lucernæ  
Et septem palmæ regni, septemque coronæ.  
Septem sunt stellæ, quas hæc tenet area cœlæ."*

For two years the see remained vacant.

[A.D. 693—731.] BRITHWALD, or BERCHT WALD, a monk of Glastonbury, and afterwards Abbot of Reculver, was then appointed. He is generally said to have been the first native archbishop, but this distinction really belonged to Deus dedit. By the time of Brithwald's death, however, the Saxon Church had become securely established, and the see was henceforth filled by a succession of natives. Sussex, the last pagan kingdom, had been converted, and received its bishop about the year 680; and the end of Brithwald's archiepiscopate may be considered as marking the termination of the first period of the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

[A.D. 731—734.] TATWIN; and

[A.D. 735—740.] NOTHELM, need only be mentioned.

[A.D. 740—758.] CUTHBERT, of a noble family, was trans-

lated from Hereford, one of the Mercian bishoprics. A synod was convened by him at Cliff, near Rochester, for the general reformation of manners, as well of the laity as of priests and bishops; who read but little, taught less, and frequently were in arms one against another. By a decree of this synod the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were both ordered to be universally taught in English. Archbishop Cuthbert obtained the papal permission for interments within the walls of cities, hitherto forbidden, and was himself the first archbishop interred in his own cathedral. All his predecessors had been buried in the monastery of St. Augustine, outside the walls of Canterbury.

[A.D. 759—765.] BREGWIN, a noble German Saxon, had come to England when a boy for education.

[A.D. 766—790.] JAENBERT, Abbot of St. Augustine's, was consecrated at Rome by Pope Paul I. During his archiepiscopate, Offa of Mercia, the most powerful of the English kings, who thought, in Fuller's words, "that the brightest mitre should attend the biggest crown<sup>b</sup>," obtained a bull from Adrian I., authorizing the erection of Lichfield into a distinct archbishopric, and assigning to it six suffragan sees; thus leaving to Canterbury only four,—London, Winchester, Rochester, and Sherborne. Aldulf was accordingly consecrated first and last Archbishop of Lichfield; for in spite of the "commodious situation" of Lichfield, nearly in the centre of England, the local feelings and traditions which clung to the "remote corner" of Kent soon reasserted themselves; and after the death of Jaenbert, Aldulf, and Offa, the primacy was restored to Canterbury as before. It is uncertain how far Archbishop Jaenbert had himself consented to the first alteration.

[A.D. 793—805.] ATHELARD, elected in 790, was not consecrated until 793. He was translated from Winchester. He procured the restoration of the primacy from Kenulph of Mercia and Pope Leo III. The Northmen are said

<sup>b</sup> Church Hist., bk. ii. cent. 8.

(but questionably) to have first appeared on the coasts of England during his archiepiscopate.

[A.D. 805—832.] WULFRED.

[A.D. April—September, 832.] FEOLGILD.

[A.D. 833—870.] CEOLNOTH.

[A.D. 870—889.] ETHELRED. The great ravages of the Northmen occurred during the lives of Ceolnoth and Ethelred, of whom little or nothing is recorded.

[A.D. 890—914.] PLEGMUND, one of the most learned men of his time, had lived for some years a solitary life on an island in the midst of the marshes of Mercia, when he was summoned thence to become one of the instructors of the youthful Alfred, at whose instance he was afterwards elected archbishop. The see had been vacant for two years when Plegmund was consecrated at Rome by Pope Formosus. During his archiepiscopate the bishopric of Wells for Somerset, and that of Crediton for Devonshire, were established (see WELLS and EXETER); and the Archbishop is said to have consecrated seven bishops in one day, some of whose sees had been so long vacant, owing probably to the Danish ravages, that the Pope had threatened, unless they were at once filled, to excommunicate the King (Edward the Elder), and to lay the whole country under an interdict.

[A.D. 914—923.] ATHELM.

[A.D. 923—942.] WULFHELM.

[A.D. 942—959.] ODO "the Severe"—the archbishop who, in conjunction with Dunstan, set himself to the "reformation" of the clergy and monks throughout England—succeeded. He was born in East Anglia, a Dane, and a pagan; but having been received for some time into the family of a noble Saxon, was baptized, and speedily took holy orders. Athelstane appointed him to the Wiltshire bishopric; and both before and after his consecration he is said to have done excellent service in battle against the Northmen. "In him the conquering Dane and stern warrior mingled

with the imperious Churchman<sup>1</sup>." By Edmund, brother and successor of Athelstane, Odo was made archbishop; and he upheld the dignity of the primacy as probably none of his predecessors had done, throughout the reigns of Edmund, Edred, and Edwy<sup>2</sup>. It was at his order that Dunstan enacted the well-known scene on the day of Edwy's coronation, though how far either Odo or Dunstan had sanctioned the atrocious cruelty with which Elgifa was subsequently treated is perhaps uncertain. Odo's great object, like that of his successor Dunstan, was the assertion of the Church's supremacy, and the "reformation" of the married clergy. At Canterbury he "reconstructed" and enlarged the cathedral—the old church of St. Augustine (see Pt. I. § 1.), and removed to it from Ripon the body of St. Wilfrid.

On the death of Odo, Elsi, Bishop of Winchester, was nominated to the primacy; but died of cold in crossing the Alps on his way to Rome to receive his pall.

[A.D. 960—988.] DUNSTAN, the famous Abbot of Glastonbury and Bishop of London, was then elected. "Dunstan's life was a crusade, a cruel, unrelenting, yet but partially successful crusade, against the married clergy, which in truth comprehended the whole secular clergy of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Dunstan was as it were, in a narrower sphere, among a ruder people, a prophetic type and harbinger of Hildebrand. Like Hildebrand, or rather like Damiani doing the work of Hildebrand in the spirit not of a rival sovereign but of an iron-hearted monk, he trampled the royal power under his feet. The scene at the coronation of King Edwy, excepting the horrible cruelties to which it was the prelude, and which belong to a more barbarous

<sup>1</sup> Milman.

<sup>2</sup> Among the constitutions of Archbishop Odo was the emphatic one, "*Ammonemus regem, et principes, et omnes qui in potestate sunt, ut cum magna reverentia archiepiscopo et omnibus aliis episcopis obediant.*"

race, might seem to prepare mankind for the humiliation of the Emperor Henry at Canosa<sup>1</sup>."

Dunstan was born in Somersetshire, of noble parents<sup>2</sup>, and was educated in the abbey of Glastonbury<sup>3</sup>. Thence he passed into the household of King Athelstane, and afterwards into that of Elfege, Bishop of Winchester, who after some time persuaded him, though not without a long mental struggle, to take the monastic vows. He accordingly became a monk at Glastonbury, the great Benedictine house in which he had been educated, to which he gave all his paternal possessions, and of which he speedily became abbot<sup>4</sup>. Throughout the reigns of Edmund and Edred, Dunstan and Odo were all-powerful. It was Dunstan who, at the coronation of Edwy, intruded himself into the King's presence at the instance of Odo; and when the storm afterwards fell upon the monks, he retired to the abbey of St. Peter at Ghent, whence he returned in the year 957 to join the party of Edgar, in whose court he remained until the death of Edwy in 959. In that year Dunstan became bishop, first of Worcester and then of London (holding both sees simultaneously), and on the death of Elsi he was elevated to the primacy.

<sup>1</sup> Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, iii. 114.

<sup>2</sup> His father was the brother of Archbishop Athelm, and was in some degree connected with the royal house of Wessex.

<sup>3</sup> Osborn, the biographer of Dunstan, asserts that at this time there was no monastic society at Glastonbury, and that Dunstan was taught there by "several devout and learned Irishmen," who, as Collier somewhat grotesquely says, "wanting the encouragement of a monastery to support them, set up a sort of modern academy, taught men of quality's sons the *belles-lettres*, music, engraving (!), and such like improvements of education."—*Eccles. Hist.*, bk. iii. cent. 10.

<sup>4</sup> The assertions of St. Dunstan's biographers, that he was "the first English abbot" (*primus abbas Anglicæ nationis*), and that Glastonbury was the first Benedictine monastery, are altogether inexact. See Kemble's note, *Saxons in England*, ii. 431.

As Archbishop, the great object of Dunstan was the triumph of monasticism, and the so-called "reformation" of the secular clergy. It is certain that the rule of even the Benedictine monasteries throughout England had become greatly relaxed; and that "even in the collegiate churches the presbyter and prebendaries had permitted themselves to take wives, which could never have been contemplated even by those who would have looked with indulgence upon that connection on the part of parish priests<sup>p</sup>." Dunstan accordingly, besides insisting that the clergy generally should put away their wives, attempted to expel the secular canons and prebendaries, and to substitute in their stead bodies of regular monks. Whether, however, he was a "violent disturber, casting all things divine and human into confusion, for the sake of a system of monkery,"—or whether the reformation at which he aimed was a more legitimate one, and only carried out (so far as it was effected at all) gradually and quietly,—are questions still undecided. Mr. Kemble<sup>q</sup> suggests that the canons were not, as is generally said to have been the case, forcibly driven from their cathedrals; but were only replaced by monks as the death of each one left a vacancy. Dean Milman, on the other hand, has come to a different conclusion: "It was not by law, but by armed invasion of cathedral after cathedral, that the married clergy were ejected, and the Benedictines installed in their places<sup>r</sup>." The story, told at length from the early Lives of St. Dunstan, will be found in Collier's "Ecclesiastical History," bk. iii. c. 10. It is at least certain that in the assumption of ecclesiastical authority, Dunstan exceeded, rather than fell short of, his

<sup>p</sup> Kemble, *Sax. in Eng.*, ii. 454.

<sup>q</sup> *Sax. in Eng.*, ii. "The Clergy and the Monks." This chapter must be read by every one who desires to investigate the subject. Mr. Kemble depends partly on the signatures of charters, which prove the gradual withdrawal of the *clerici*.

<sup>r</sup> *Lat. Christ.*, iii. 116.

predecessor Odo; and the two famous miracles which occurred during the contest between the seculars and regulars,—the speaking crucifix at Winchester (A.D. 969), and the fall of the floor at Calne (A.D. 978),—remind us, at all events, of the Archbishop's "mastery over all the mechanic skill of the day."

Dunstan died in May, 988; having held the primacy for twenty-seven years. He was buried in his cathedral at Canterbury, "in the spot which he had himself chosen two days before his death." Countless miracles were wrought at his tomb. (Pt. I. § XIV.) His right to a place in the catalogue of saints was speedily acknowledged; but "he had achieved no permanent victory. Hardly twenty years after the death of Dunstan, a council is held at Enham. It declares that there were clergy who had two, even more, wives; some had dismissed their wives, and in their lifetime taken others. It might seem that the compulsory breach of the marriage bond had only introduced a looser, promiscuous concubinage; men who strove, or were forced to obey, returned to their conjugal habits with some new consort."

A charter in the handwriting of this famous archbishop, remains in the Chapter Library. (Pt. I. § XLIX.)

[A.D. 988—989.] **ETHELGAR**, first a monk of Glastonbury, then abbot of the "New Minster" at Winchester, and afterwards Bishop of Selsey, succeeded Dunstan.

[A.D. 990—994.] **SIRICIUS**, a monk of Glastonbury, had been elected Abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury by Dunstan's influence, and afterwards became Bishop of Wilton, whence he was translated to Canterbury.

[A.D. 995—1005.] **ÆLFRIC**, also educated at Glastonbury, succeeded Siricius in the Wiltshire see and at Canterbury. The homilies for the Christian seasons, generally attributed to this archbishop, have been printed by the "Ælfric

Society" (1843). It is, however, uncertain whether they were written by him, by Ælfric Putta, Archbishop of York (1023—1050), or by a third Ælfric named the Grammarian. They are of great interest and importance as containing the authoritative doctrines of the Saxon Church.

The monks of the convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, attached to the cathedral, who—after the first society established by St. Augustine had disappeared—had been re-introduced by Dunstan, and expelled under Ethelgar, "propter insolentiam," were restored under Ælfric. "Thus," says Fuller, "was it often 'In dock, out nettle,' as they could strengthen their parties."

[A.D. 1005—1012.] ALPHEGE, a West Saxon of noble birth, left the abbey of Glastonbury in which he had been prior, in order to lead a life of greater seclusion and austerity in a cell which he constructed for himself close to the hot springs at Bath. From the small body of followers which here collected about him arose the great abbey of Bath, afterwards united to the see of Wells. On the death of Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, Alphege was appointed his successor through the influence of Dunstan; and after presiding over that see for twenty-two years, he was translated to Canterbury. In the year 1011 occurred the sack of Canterbury by the Danes, when the cathedral was greatly injured, the monks, all except four, were massacred, and the Archbishop himself was carried off a captive. The Danes kept him for seven months in their camp at Greenwich, in the hope of obtaining a large ransom for him. But Alphege declared he would not waste the goods of the Church, "nor provide Christian flesh for pagan teeth." At last he was dragged before the Danish chiefs, who were at a banquet: their cry was "Gold, bishop! gold!" and when he persisted in refusing, they pelted him with bones and cows' horns, until one of them finally killed him with an axe-stroke on the head. His body, which had been ransomed by the Londoners, and interred in the cathedral church of

St. Paul, was restored to Canterbury by Canute. His right to canonization as a saint and martyr was confirmed after the Conquest by Archbishop Lanfranc, and St. Alphege retains a place in our own Calendar.

[A.D. 1013—1020.] **LIVING**, (whose real name, according to Florence and the Saxon Chronicler, was *ÆLFSTAN*. *Lyfing*, or *Leofing*, is a diminutive from the adjective *leof*—*carus*, and is thus equivalent to 'darling,') translated from Wells, was scarcely more fortunate than his predecessor. The Danish wars, as they might now fairly be called, continued until Canute finally established himself in the year 1016. Archbishop Living suffered much, and was long detained as a captive by the "host" of Sweyn. He at last withdrew from England, but returned with Ethelred on the death of Sweyn, and afterwards placed the crown on the heads of Edmund Ironside and of Canute.

[A.D. 1020—1038.] **EGELNOTH** is said to have been the first dean of the Canterbury canons, who, after the massacre of the monks by the Danes, seem to have outweighed the latter in numbers and in influence. Egelnoth repaired much of the damage which the Danes had inflicted on his cathedral, and on his return from Rome brought with him, as an inestimable treasure, the arm of St. Augustine of Hippo, which he gave to the church of Coventry.

[A.D. 1038—1050.] **EADSI**, translated from Winchester. His state of health compelled him to appoint Siward, Abbot of Abingdon, his vicar, apparently with full control over the property of the see. Siward scarcely allowed the Archbishop the necessities of life; but died within a month of him,—it is said, of remorse for his conduct.

[A.D. 1051—1052.] **ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES**—one of the many Normans brought into England by the Confessor—was translated to Canterbury from London. Archbishop Robert is said to have assisted in exciting the King's anger against Earl Godwin and his family. He was, at any rate, involved in the misfortunes of the Normans in England which fol-

lowed on the reconciliation of the King and the great Earl, and prudently withdrew to Rome, whence he is said to have returned with letters authorizing his restoration to his see. These, however, he never insisted on, but spent the remainder of his life in his old abbey of Jumièges.

[A.D. 1052—1070.] STIGAND, Bishop of Winchester, procured his own election as archbishop on the withdrawal of Robert. He did not, however, resign his former see, retaining both that and the archiepiscopate for sixteen years, a proof of the "greed and avarice" which, according to the chroniclers, were his especial vices. After the Conquest it was, says Thorn, the monk of St. Augustine's, who alone tells the story, this Archbishop, and Egilsin, Abbot of St. Augustine's, who, repeating the stratagem of Birnam-wood, led the host of the "men of Kent," concealed behind green boughs, to Swanscombe, near Gravesend, where they met the advancing Conqueror, and suddenly flinging away their green boughs, compelled him to confirm their ancient privileges. Whatever truth there may be in this story, it is certain that Stigand, as well as Aldred, Archbishop of York, was at first inclined to support the cause of Edgar Atheling; and that he was consequently regarded with extreme suspicion by the Conqueror, who obliged him, together with the Saxon Atheling himself, Agelnoth Abbot of Glastonbury, and some other English nobles, to accompany him to Normandy on his return in the summer of 1067. The Archbishop was honourably treated during his absence from England, but William probably thought him too uncertain a friend to be allowed to retain the primacy, and Stigand was accordingly deposed in a synod held at Winchester in the year 1070. On this occasion Hermenfrid, Bishop of Sion-on-the-Rhone, and two cardinal priests, represented Pope Alexander II., the especial patron of the Normans; and with their assistance, many of the English bishops and abbots, whose sees were too rich or too important to be filled by other than Normans, were dis-

possessed<sup>1</sup>. Among these was Egelmar, Bishop of East Anglia, and brother of Stigand. Stigand was imprisoned at Winchester, where he died within the year, having steadily refused to surrender his vast treasures to the King. A key and scroll found about his neck after his death are said, however, to have indicated the various places in which they had been concealed—under rocks, in forests, and in hiding-places under the beds of rivers. The great wealth of Stigand may have been one of the causes of his persecution, but it is clear that William dreaded the energy, and perhaps the ability, of the Primate in spite of his utter want of learning.

[A.D. 1070, May 1089—WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, WILLIAM RUFUS.] LANFRANC, the first Norman archbishop, whose name is still honoured by the English Church, was born at Pavia, of a noble family. At an early age he became an inmate of the monastery of Bec in Normandy, then, perhaps, the most remarkable seat of learning in Europe. It had been founded about half a century before, by Herluin, a Norman knight, “as ignorant as he was rude.” Its reputation soon spread, and “strangers who were wandering over Europe found that which was wanting in the richer and more settled convents,—seclusion and austerity.” “From the same monastery of Bec came in succession two primates of the Norman Church in England; in learning, sanctity, and general ability not inferior to any bishops of their time in Christendom,—Lanfranc and Anselm.”

Lanfranc, in spite of the jealousy which he attracted,

<sup>1</sup> The grounds on which Stigand was deposed were :—

I. Because he held the see of Winchester at the same time with the archbishopric.

II. Because he not only took the archbishopric whilst Robert of Jumièges was living, but used his pall, which remained at Canterbury.

III. Because he had received his own pall from Benedict X., the excommunicated anti-pope.

<sup>2</sup> Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, iii. 436.

partly on account of his superior learning, but more perhaps from the sharp use of his Italian wit, became at last Prior of Bec. The famous controversy excited by the teaching of Berengarius of Tours concerning the Real Presence was at this time in full debate. Lanfranc was generally regarded as the champion of the vital doctrine of Latin Christendom. He replied, in a treatise which still remains, to Berengarius; who in return admitted with a "haughty condescension," that the intellect of the Prior of Bec was "non aspernabile." In May, 1050, Lanfranc was present at the Council held in Rome by Pope Leo IX., in which Berengarius was condemned. He subsequently became abbot of the new monastery of St. Stephen's at Caen, founded by William of Normandy; and on the deposition of Stigand he was summoned to England to complete the subjection and reform of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Lanfranc at first resisted, "not only from monastic aversion to state and secular pursuits, but from unwillingness to rule a barbarous people, of whose language he was ignorant." He yielded, however, at last, and "came as a Norman. His first act was to impose penance on the Anglo-Saxon soldiers who had dared to oppose William at Hastings, even on the archers whose bolts had flown at random, and did slay, or might have slain, Norman knights\*." Great care was taken to provide that his election should be, to all appearance at least, strictly legal; and he was consecrated at Canterbury by Giso, Bishop of Wells, and Walter, Bishop of Hereford, neither of whom had received their own orders from the deposed Archbishop Stigand. On his visiting Rome for his pall, Pope Alexander II. rose to receive him, saying that it was not the Archbishop of Canterbury whom he thus honoured, but the learning and great virtues of Lanfranc, to whom he had been indebted for his own knowledge,—"*cujus studio sumus in illis quæ scimus imbuti.*"

\* Lat. Christ., iii. 487.

Lanfranc found the Anglo-Saxon Church over which he was called to preside, in a state of extreme ignorance. "Like its faithful disciple, its humble acolyte, its munificent patron, Edward the Confessor, it might conceal much gentle and amiable goodness; but its outward character was that of timid and unworldly ignorance, unfit to rule, and exercising but feeble and unbeneficial influence over a population become at once more rude and fierce, and more oppressed and servile, by the Danish conquest." The new archbishop readily fell in with the plans of the Conqueror for the removal of the greater part of the bishops and abbots of English birth, "a stretch of power," says Mr. Hallam, "very singular in that age;" but the English Church, like the country itself, was treated as a conquered possession, and even the merits of the national saints were subjected to careful examination before they were admitted into the Norman calendar. It is possible that the Norman bishops were to some extent an improvement on their Saxon predecessors, and the decrees of the synod of London (1075) effected a certain good by their regulation of the great monasteries, which had fallen into complete disorder. A general rule for the Benedictine houses throughout England was drawn up by Lanfranc himself, whose life at Bec had been distinguished by great austerity, and whose sympathies were entirely on the side of the monks, in opposition to the secular clergy. The same synod decreed the removal of bishops' sees from the smaller towns and villages.

"A king so imperious as William, and a churchman so firm as Lanfranc, could hardly avoid collision. Though they scrupled not to despoil the Saxon prelates, the Church must suffer no spoliation. The estates of the see of Canterbury must pass whole and inviolable. The uterine brother of the King, (his mother's son by a second marriage,) Odo, the magnificent and able Bishop of Bayeux,

7 *Lat. Christ.*, iii. 435.

had seized, as Count of Kent, twenty-five manors belonging to the archiepiscopal see. The Primate summoned the Bishop of Bayeux to public judgment on Penenden Heath; the award was in the Archbishop's favour. Still William honoured Lanfranc; Lanfranc, in the King's absence in Normandy, was chief justiciary, vicegerent within the realm. Lanfranc respected William. When the Conqueror haughtily rejected the demand of Hildebrand himself for allegiance and subsidy, we hear no remonstrance from the Primate. The Primate refused to go to Rome at the summons of the Pope\*."

In the year 1087 the Conqueror died at Caen, and his son William II. was crowned by Lanfranc. While the Archbishop lived, who had the prudence not to provoke him, the Red King in some degree restrained his covetous encroachments on the wealth of the Church. Two years later, however, (May, 1089,) Lanfranc himself died. He was buried before the "great crucifix" in the nave of his cathedral, but the precise spot is unknown.

At Canterbury, Lanfranc rebuilt his cathedral, which had fallen into complete ruin, (Pt. I. § II.) and established for the first time on sure foundations, and with a strict and definite rule, the great monastery of Christ Church with its 150 monks, to whom he gave a prior. Under his directions, also, the arrangement of the Church offices, drawn up by Osmund, Bishop of Sarum, and afterwards known as that "*secundum usum Sarum*," was generally adopted throughout the south of England, thereby preventing the great variety of offices which every bishop

\* Lat. Christ., iii. 438. Lanfranc seems to have entertained a strong personal regard for the Conqueror, and Eadmer describes the profound sorrow of the Archbishop on his death: "*Quantus autem meror Lanfrancum ex morte ejus perculerit, quis dicere possit, quando nos qui circa illum, nuntiata morte illius, eramus, statim eum, præ cordis angustia, mori timeremus?*"—*Hist. Novor.*, l. i. p. 18.

and abbot had hitherto been allowed to introduce almost at pleasure.

The remaining works of Lanfranc, consisting of numerous letters, of commentaries on portions of Scripture, and of his reply to Berengarius, have been published by the Benedictine editors, in folio, (1647,) and in two vols. 8vo. by Dr. Giles, Oxon. 1844.

For more than four years after the death of Lanfranc, (May 1089—Dec. 1093,) the see of Canterbury remained unfilled, the King thus escaping the "importunate control" of a primate, "and knowing," says Fuller, "that the emptiness of bishoprics caused the fullness of his coffers. Thus Archbishop Rufus, Bishop Rufus, Abbot Rufus, (for so he may be called as well as King Rufus, keeping at the same time the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Winchester and Durham, and thirteen abbeys in his hand,) brought a mass of money into his exchequer<sup>a</sup>." At length, however, the primacy was conferred on

[A.D. Dec. 1093—April 1109—WILLIAM II., HENRY I.]  
ANSELM, of all the archbishops of Canterbury, with the single exception of Becket, the most celebrated throughout Europe during the Middle Ages.

Anselm, who is regarded as the founder of that scholastic philosophy which for so long afterwards continued to exercise the highest intellects of Christendom, was born in the year 1033, of noble parents, at Aosta in Savoy. At the age of twenty-seven he found his way to the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, a foundation "which seemed to aspire to that same pre-eminence in theologic learning and the accomplishments of high-minded Churchmen which the Normans were displaying in valour, military skill, and the conquests of kingdoms<sup>b</sup>." At Bec, Anselm studied under Lanfranc, who was already distinguished there, succeeded him as prior of the convent, and afterwards, on the death of

<sup>a</sup> Church Hist., cent. xi. bk. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Lat. Christ., iii. 356.

Herluin, the founder and first abbot, became himself abbot of Bec. He had been abbot for fifteen years, and his reputation for learning was widely spread throughout Europe, when he visited England in the year 1093, at the invitation of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, with whom he had been familiar in Normandy, and who, now on his death-bed, desired to unburden his conscience to Anselm, and to consult him about the foundation of a monastery in his town of Chester. It happened that the King, at this time, lay sick of a fever at Gloucester. "Nothing but the wrath of God, as William supposed, during an illness which threatened his life, compelled him to place the crozier in the hands of the meek, and as he hoped, unworldly Anselm. It required as much violence in the whole nation, to whom Anselm's fame and virtues were so well known, to compel Anselm to accept the primacy, as to induce the King to bestow it." Anselm was consecrated Dec. 4, 1093, by Walkelin, the first Norman bishop of Winchester.

William had expected to find Anselm readily manageable; but "when primate, Anselm, the monk, the philosopher, was as high, as impracticable a Churchman as the boldest or the haughtiest. Anselm's was passive courage, Anselm's was gentle endurance, but as unyielding, as impregnable, as that of Lanfranc, even of Hildebrand himself. No one concession could be wrung from him of property, of right, or of immunity belonging to his Church. He was a man whom no humiliation could humble; privation, even pain, he bore not only with the patience, but with the joy of a monk." Anselm's first quarrel with Rufus was as to which of the popes England should acknowledge, Guibert of Ravenna, the "anti-pope," or Urban II. The Primate himself had already acknowledged Urban, and after more than twelve months the <sup>ex</sup> struggle ended in Urban's becoming the Pope of England. But William was resolved either to make the Archbishop "his own man," or to get rid of

\* Milman, Lat. Christ., iii. 488.

† Id., 489.

him altogether. Fresh discussions were provoked concerning the numbers and want of training of the men furnished by the Archbishop for William's Welsh expedition, and at length Anselm was required to take an oath of fealty, and to promise that under no circumstances he would appeal from the King of England to the Pope. This he refused, and was exiled accordingly. He withdrew at first to Lyons, whence he was speedily summoned to Rome by Pope Urban, and received with the utmost honour. During a council in the Lateran, there was some discussion as to the place of Anselm, since no archbishop of Canterbury had hitherto been present at Rome on such an occasion. The Pope decided it by assigning him a place in the corona, or eastern apse, close at his own right foot. "Includamus," are the words attributed to Urban by William of Malmesbury, "hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam alterius orbis papam." Anselm was afterwards present at the council of Bari (1098), during which his great learning was called upon to combat the errors of the Greek Church concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, a subject on which he afterwards put forth a *libellus*.

Urban II. died in 1099, and in the following year (August 1100) William Rufus was killed in the forest. Henry, the "Beauclerc," immediately recalled Anselm, and at first received him with all honour. Rufus had brought no very definite ground of complaint against the Archbishop, with whom he was determined to quarrel at all events. The great question of investitures was that which caused the long strife between Henry and Anselm, a strife which lasted almost to the end of his archiepiscopate. During his exile at Rome, Anselm had been taught to regard the feudal ceremony of investiture as "the venomous source of all simony." The bishops who had been elected during the years of the Primate's absence, had all received their temporalities as bishops elect, by the delivery of the ring and pastoral staff from the King in the usual manner.

None of them, however, had been consecrated, and Urban II. had prohibited Anselm from recognising any who had been thus invested. Henry I. now demanded their consecration. Anselm refused, and the question was at last referred to the new Pope, Paschal II., Anselm proceeding to Rome on his own part, and William Warlewast, the "invested" bishop of Exeter, on the King's. The Pope refused to recognise or to permit the investitures, and Anselm accordingly remained a second time in exile, until, partly by the good offices of the Countess Adela of Blois, sister of Henry I., and partly by the King's own prudence, who during his strife with his brother, Robert of Normandy, was unwilling to have a hostile archbishop, he was permitted to return to England. "The wise Henry has discovered that, by surrendering a barren ceremony, he may retain the substantial power. He consents to abandon the form of granting the ring and pastoral staff, he retains the homage, and that which was the real object of the strife, the power of appointing to the wealthy sees and abbeys of the realm. The Church has the honour of the triumph, has wrung away the seeming concession, and Anselm, who in his unworldly views had hardly perhaps comprehended the real point at issue, has the glory and the conscious pride of success\*."

Anselm returned in 1107, and the remaining two years of his life were passed in comparative quiet. He died at Canterbury in April, 1109, and was buried near his predecessor Lanfranc; but his remains were afterwards placed in the tower still called by his name. (Pt. I. § XXXIV.) Four centuries after his death, by the exertions, and not without the purse of Archbishop Morton, who died in 1500, his great predecessor was admitted into the catalogue of saints.

It need hardly be said that it was not the firm resistance of Anselm to the despotism of the Norman kings which

\* Lat. Christ., iii. 439.

procured for him his great and lasting reputation throughout Europe. This was entirely the result of his wide theological learning, and of his position as the first of the great Schoolmen whose teaching was recognised by the Church. In the retirement of the cloister, and after the stir and movement caused by the first Christianization of Europe had somewhat ceased, dialectics, or the science of logic, "one of the highest (if not the highest) of intellectual studies," became more and more attractive, and "under the specious form of dialectic exercises the gravest questions of divinity became subjects of debate." In replying to Roscelin, the first great "nominalist," Anselm developed the "realist" theory, afterwards generally accepted as orthodox; and shewed that, whilst maintaining the most entire devotion to the Church, it was possible to sound the profoundest depths of metaphysical subtlety.

The best and most complete edition of the works of Anselm is the magnificent Benedictine folio, Paris, 1675. The volume also contains the Life of St. Anselm, by Eadmer of Canterbury, his friend and contemporary, and the same author's *Historia Novorum*, embracing all the public history of his time. The best dissertation on the scholastic philosophy of Anselm is that of M. C. de Rémusat, *Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry*, Paris, 1853.

After Anselm's death the see of Canterbury was again vacant five years (April 1109—June 1114). For this time it was under the care of Ralph, Bishop of Rochester, the King of course retaining the temporalities. At length [A.D. 1114, Oct. 1122.—HENRY I.] RALPH was himself elevated to the primacy. He was of Norman birth, and in his youth had studied under Lanfranc. As archbishop he was undistinguished. He was buried in the nave of his cathedral.

[A.D. 1123, Nov. 1136.—HENRY I., STEPHEN.] WILLIAM DE CORBEUIL, who succeeded, is said to have been the first archbishop who took the title of Papal Legate, conferred on

him by Honorius II. On the death of Henry, the Archbishop, induced by the representations of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester (see WINCHESTER), consented to crown Stephen, although he had before solemnly sworn to support the cause of Matilda. Many of the chronicles insist that he died of remorse for this act. The cathedral of Canterbury, rebuilt by Lanfranc, and enlarged under Anselm by Prior Ernulf, (Pt. I. § II.,) was completed during Archbishop William's episcopate, and was solemnly dedicated by him, "*cum honore et munificentia multâ*," on the 4th of May, 1130. Henry King of England, and David of Scotland, were both present, besides "all the bishops of England." "*Non est audita*," says Gervase, "*talis dedicatio in terra post dedicationem templi Salomonis*."

[A.D. 1139, April 1161.—STEPHEN, HENRY II.] THEOBALD, a Benedictine who had been Abbot of Bec, was elected in a synod held at London, and presided over by Albert, Cardinal of Ostia, the Papal Legate. The title of "*Legatus Natus*" was afterwards granted to this archbishop by Pope Innocent III., and was retained by his successors until the Reformation. Archbishop Theobald fell upon troubled times; and was overshadowed in his dignities by the powerful Bishop Henry of Blois,—as vigorous and energetic a prelate as Theobald seems to have been a gentle one. There were many struggles between them; and the Archbishop twice found himself an exile on foreign shores,—once through the plotting of Henry of Blois, and again when, in 1153, Stephen attempted to prevail on the bishops assembled in council at London to crown his son Eustace as his co-partner and successor. Theobald escaped down the Thames, and passed over to France. He was soon restored to the royal favour, however; and after the death of Eustace succeeded, in conjunction with Bishop Henry of Blois, in bringing about the final arrangement by which Stephen retained the crown for his life, to be succeeded

by Henry, son of Matilda. The Archbishop's life was untroubled after the death of Stephen. His own death occurred in 1161; and he was interred, it is generally said, on the south side of the choir. The tomb now shewn there, however, is certainly not his. (Pt. I. § xxxiii.)

The see had been vacant for more than a year, when  
[A.D. 1162, Dec. 29, 1170—HENRY II.] THOMAS BECKET became Archbishop.

Setting aside the romance which has been connected with the origin of Becket<sup>†</sup>, it is tolerably certain that his father was a London merchant of good position and unblemished character. The future archbishop was educated among the Augustinian canons of Merton, in Surrey; whom he delighted to revisit in the days of his prosperity. He was recommended to Archbishop Theobald by "two learned civilians from Bologna," who were lodging at his father's house; and from this time was on the high road of advancement. He was retained in the household, and employed on the service, of the Primate; with whom he visited Rome, and for whom he conducted some most difficult negotiations with Pope Eugenius III. Becket, although only in deacon's orders, was made Archdeacon of Canterbury,—thus obtaining the richest benefice, after the bishoprics, in England; and received many other preferments from the Archbishop—"plurimæ ecclesiæ, prebendæ nonnullæ." It was by Archbishop Theobald's influence, also, that Becket was raised to the dignity of Chancellor,—probably in 1155. Theobald was anxious to place near the young King some one who might "prevent his mind from being alienated from the clergy by fierce and lawless counsellors."

<sup>†</sup> The name *Becket*, a diminutive of *bec*, signifies a little brook or streamlet. Becket's family was possibly Saxon; but the word *bec* was common to both Saxons and Normans, as the name of the famous Norman monastery sufficiently proves. Whether the Archbishop was generally known as Thomas *Becket* during his lifetime is very doubtful.

The magnificence of Becket as chancellor, and his close intimacy with the young King, are especially dwelt on by his biographers. "The power of Becket throughout the King's dominions equalled that of the King himself—he was king in all but name; the world, it was said, had never seen two friends so entirely of one mind<sup>s</sup>." It was to the counsels of the Chancellor that the pacification of England, after the troubles of Stephen's reign, was mainly owing. In 1160 he went as Ambassador to Paris to demand the hand of the Princess Margaret for the King's infant son, Prince Henry, whose education was afterwards entrusted to him: and during the expedition made by Henry II. to assert his right to the dominions of the Counts of Toulouse, Becket appeared at the head of 700 knights, and was foremost in every adventurous exploit. Wealth poured in upon him, as Chancellor, from all quarters. From the King he received the wardenship of the Tower of London, and the lordship of the castle of Berkhamstead, with the honour of Eye.

Archbishop Theobald died April 18, 1161. The see had been vacant more than a year, when Henry, then at Falaise, sent Becket to England for his election to the Primacy. The Chancellor remonstrated, but in vain. "He openly warned, it is said, his royal master, that as Primate he must choose between the favour of God and that of the King—he must prefer that of God<sup>h</sup>." The monks of Christ Church, however, alleged that Becket had never worn the monastic habit: the suffragan bishops were not more favourably disposed towards him; and it was only the arrival of the Grand Justiciary, Richard de Lucy, with the King's peremptory commands for his election, which awed the monks into submission. Becket was ordained priest at Whitsuntide, 1162; and the following day (Whit-Sunday) was consecrated Primate of England in the Abbey of Westminster by Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, the see of London being vacant.

<sup>s</sup> Lat. Christ., iii. 449.

<sup>h</sup> Id., 458.

Becket's course of life was at once changed. He became "not merely a decent prelate, but an austere and mortified monk. . . . His table was still hospitable and sumptuous, but instead of knights and nobles, he admitted only learned clerks, and especially the regulars, whom he courted with the most obsequious deference. For the sprightly conversation of former times were read grave books in the Latin of the Church!" The Archbishop resigned the chancellorship, "as inconsistent with the religious functions of the primate," whilst Henry was still in France; and in May, 1163, he was present at the council of Tours, at the head of nearly all the English bishops.

In the course of the following year, the long strife between the King and the Archbishop commenced: and in a Parliament held at Westminster, Henry insisted "that all clerks accused of heinous crimes should be immediately degraded, and handed over to the officers of his justice, to be dealt with according to law. . . . He demanded this in the name of equal justice and the peace of the realm<sup>1</sup>." Becket inflexibly maintained the inviolability of the holy persons of the clergy; and when further asked whether he would observe the customs of the realm, replied that he would do so "saving his order." Henry broke up the assembly, and deprived Becket both of the custody of the royal castles and of the guardianship of the young prince. At the persuasion of the bishops, however, Becket afterwards went to Oxford and withdrew his opposition.

In January, 1164, a great council of the realm was summoned at Clarendon, near Salisbury. The famous "Constitutions," which were then drawn up, subjected the whole of the clergy, equally with the laity, to the common laws of the land. The Archbishop swore to observe them, but afterwards refused to sign or seal them. All the other prelates subscribed and sealed the Constitutions as the laws of England. On his return to Canterbury,

<sup>1</sup> Lat. Christ., iii, 456.

<sup>2</sup> Id., 462.

Becket imposed on himself the severest penances, and wrote to the Pope imploring absolution for his oath, which he speedily received.

The Archbishop, thus at open strife with the King, was summoned to attend a Parliament at Northampton in October, 1164. Here, after a fine had been inflicted on him for withholding justice from John the Marshall, who claimed an estate from the see of Canterbury, various demands were brought against Becket, "which seemed framed for the purpose of reducing the Archbishop to the humiliating condition of a debtor to the King, entirely at his disposal:" the last and the overwhelming demand was "an account of all the monies received during his chancellorship from the vacant archbishopric and from other bishoprics and abbeys. The debt was calculated at the enormous sum of 44,000 marks<sup>1</sup>." After taking counsel with the bishops, all of whom were opposed to him, Becket appeared in the King's hall bearing his own cross; and that celebrated scene occurred, which terminated in the flight of the Archbishop from England. He appealed to the Pope, and prohibited his suffragans from sitting in secular judgment on their metropolitan—both which steps were infringements on two of the Constitutions of Clarendon. By so doing he incurred something approaching a charge of capital treason, and his life was not impossibly endangered, when he escaped (Oct. 13) from Northampton to Lincoln; thence he passed into Kent, and on All Souls' Day landed on the coast of Flanders, near Gravelines.

From Flanders Becket passed into France, where he was received with the utmost honour, both by Louis VII., and by the Pope, Alexander III., who, also an exile, was at this time residing at Sens, the metropolitan city. The Pope rebuked the weakness of Becket in swearing to the Constitutions of Clarendon; and Becket resigned his archiepiscopate to Alexander, from whom he received it once

<sup>1</sup> Lat. Christ., iii. 469, 470.

more; and was then established at the Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny, about twelve leagues from Sens. Henry had sent his own ambassadors to protest against the countenance of Becket in France; and now, learning his honourable reception, he ordered the revenues of the Archbishop to be seized, and banished from the kingdom all the Primate's kinsmen, dependents, and friends—400 in number.

For nearly two years Becket remained at Pontigny; regulating his life by the sternest monastic discipline. Toward the end of this period he cited Henry, by three successive messengers, to submit to his censure; and at last, on Ascension Day, 1166, in the church of the monastery of Vezelay, famous for its possession of the body of St. Mary Magdalene, he solemnly condemned and annulled the Constitutions of Clarendon; and excommunicated both those who observed them, and all who enforced their observance. Many of his most powerful adversaries were then excommunicated by name. Henry was as yet spared; but his wrath, on becoming acquainted with what had passed at Vezelay, drove him almost to madness. The ports of England were guarded against the introduction of the instruments declaring the excommunication; and the General of the Cistercians was compelled to drive Becket from Pontigny. He removed accordingly to Sens.

The struggles of the ensuing three years need not be told in detail here. According as his own affairs prospered, Pope Alexander III., now in Italy, pronounced himself more or less decidedly on the side of Becket. Two cardinals, William of Pavia and Otho, were appointed papal legates in France to decide the cause; but a meeting of the kings of France and England, of the cardinals, and of Becket, near Gisors (Nov., 1167), only resulted in fresh appeals to the Pope, who now named as mediators the prior of Montdiou and a monk of Grammont. A meeting took place at Montmirail, which was broken off without a reconciliation by Becket's own unexpected tergiversation.

On his return to Sens he again excommunicated Foliot, Bishop of London, and many others of Henry's most faithful counsellors: and once more Alexander appointed a legatine commission, consisting of Gratian, "a hard and severe canon lawyer," and a priest named Vivian. They effected no more than their predecessors, although the terrors of the excommunications were now beginning to disturb England, and although Becket had written to the English bishops commanding them to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict; but it was Henry who this time suddenly broke off all negotiation by refusing the "kiss of peace" to Becket. A royal proclamation was issued, withdrawing all obedience due to the Archbishop; and to ensure its observance the sheriffs were to administer an oath to all freemen. This oath the bishops refused to take. "The King and the Primate thus contested the realm of England." The Pope, although he would pronounce decisively on neither side, nevertheless gave permission for Roger, Archbishop of York, to officiate at the coronation of the young Prince Henry, thereby setting aside the undoubted prerogative of the archbishops of Canterbury. He also absolved the Bishops of London and Salisbury, both of whom had been excommunicated by Becket.

Becket wrote fiercely to Rome in reprobation of the conduct of Alexander. The reconciliation between Henry and the Archbishop seemed more remote than ever, and after the coronation of the Prince, Becket wrote again to the English prelates, directing them to publish the interdict in their dioceses. At this time, a meeting took place between the Kings of England and France at Fretteville, between Chartres and Tours. The Archbishop of Sens prevailed on Becket to be present in the neighbourhood. It had been suggested to Henry that the Archbishop would be less dangerous within the kingdom than without it. "The hint had flashed conviction on the King's mind." He was persuaded to see Becket at Fretteville, and after

a long private conference, the reconciliation took place, so suddenly as to surprise the world. Not a word was said on either side about the Constitutions of Clarendon. The interference with his right of coronation was the principal grievance dwelt on by Becket, and Henry promised that his son should receive his crown again from the hands of the Primate. The Pope, willing to associate himself once more with the cause of Becket, renewed the excommunications of the Bishops of London and Salisbury, and suspended the Archbishop of York. At Becket's request, these measures were grounded entirely on their usurpation of the right of crowning the King.

Four months afterwards, Dec. 1, 1170, Becket landed at Sandwich. The papal documents authorizing the suspension and excommunication of the Prelates had already been conveyed across the Channel, not without great difficulty. The Prelates themselves had appealed to the King: but Becket, instead of returning to England with thoughts of peace, scattered excommunications and censures in all directions. His proceedings were duly notified to the King, whose well-known exclamation led to the departure of four knights, his chamberlains—Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Moreville, William de Tracy, and Richard le Bret. They assembled at Saltwood Castle, and on the 28th of December reached Canterbury, and took up their abode in St. Augustine's Abbey. The next day a fierce interview occurred between Becket and the knights in the archiepiscopal palace, on the termination of which the Primate was hurried by his attendants into the cathedral. The famous scene there has been sufficiently described, Pt. I. § XVIII., and Henry's subsequent penance in § XLII.

The causes for which this long struggle was maintained between the King and the Archbishop should be carefully borne in mind. "For those who believe that an indiscriminate maintenance of ecclesiastical claims is the best service they can render to God and the Church . . . it may

not be without instruction to remember that the Constitutions of Clarendon, which Becket spent his life in opposing, and of which his death procured the suspension, are now incorporated in the English law, and are regarded without a dissentient voice as among the wisest and most necessary of English institutions; that the especial point for which he surrendered his life was not the independence of the clergy from the encroachments of the crown, but the personal and now forgotten question of the superiority of the see of Canterbury to that of the see of York<sup>a</sup>. "Becket was indeed the martyr of the clergy, not of the Church; of sacerdotal power, not of Christianity; of a caste, not of mankind<sup>a</sup>."

He was acknowledged, however, almost immediately after his death, to have earned a place among the most undisputed martyrs, "so completely were clerical immunities part and parcel of Christianity<sup>a</sup>." The great fame of his miracles brought crowds of pilgrims to his magnificent shrine from all parts of Europe; and Canterbury itself, from comparative obscurity, emerged into a glory which rivalled that of Compostella or Cologne. For a notice of the shrine, see Pt. I. § xxvii.

The most important of the ancient Lives of Becket have been collected and printed, together with his letters, in 8 vols. 8vo. (Oxon. 1845), by Dr. Giles. The letters may also be found in the 16th volume of Dom Bouquet's *Gallicarum Rerum Scriptores*. A very curious collection of the *Miracula S. Thomæ*, by Benedict, a monk of Canterbury, has been edited by Dr. Giles. Of the modern Lives the most valuable are Canon Robertson's "Becket: a Biography,"

<sup>a</sup> Stanley: "The Murder of Becket." Hist. Mem. of Canterbury.

<sup>a</sup> Milman, Lat. Christ., iii. 526. See also the striking passage which concludes his "Life of Becket," pp. 527, 8.

<sup>o</sup> "Quod alicujus martyrum causa justior fuit, aut apertior, ego nec audiui nec legi."—*Herbert de Bosham, Vita S. Thomæ*.

(Murray, 1859); and the admirable one contained in the third volume of Dean Milman's "Latin Christianity." A Life of Becket from a purely Romanist point of view has been published by the Rev. J. Morris, of Northampton, (Longman, 1859). Two essays of the highest value and interest, "The Murder of Becket," and "The Shrine of Becket," will be found in Canon Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Canterbury," (Murray).

Within a month after the murder of Becket, the monks of Christ Church elected Robert, Abbot of Bec, to the primacy, which, however, he refused to accept. Their next choice was

[A.D. 1174—1184—HENRY II.] RICHARD, Prior of Dover, who had accidentally been present at Canterbury at the time of the murder, and who, together with the Abbot of Boxley, assisted in conveying the body of the Archbishop into the crypt. According to Peter of Blois, Archbishop Richard was somewhat careless and indifferent, and more ready to attend to matters temporal than spiritual. During the Council held at Westminster in 1173, at which letters were read from the Pope authorizing the invocation of Becket as a Saint, the dispute for precedency between Canterbury and York attained its climax. Archbishop Richard had seated himself at the right hand of the Papal Legate, "as in his proper place, when in springs Roger of York, and finding Canterbury so seated, fairly sits him down in Canterbury's lap." A frightful disturbance ensued, and Archbishop Roger nearly lost his life under the sticks and fists of the opposite party, who shouted out as he rose from the ground with crushed mitre and torn cope, "Away, away traitor of St. Thomas; thy hands still reek with his blood!" It was as a result of this combat, and in order to settle the dispute, that the Pope conferred upon the two Prelates the distinctive titles which they still bear—Primate

† Fuller, Church Hist., c. xii. bk. 3.

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of England (York), and Primate of all England (Canterbury). Archbishop Richard died in the year 1184, at his manor of Halling near Rochester, terrified, according to Hoveden, by the apparition of St. Peter in a dream, who reproached him with his want of zeal.

After some dispute between the monks of Christ Church and the suffragan bishops of the province, both of whom claimed the right of election, the monks, not without much discussion, consented to receive

[A.D. 1185—1190—HENRY II., RICHARD I.] BALDWIN, a Cistercian monk of low parentage, born at Exeter, and afterwards Abbot of Ford in Devon, whence he had been raised in 1181 to the bishopric of Worcester. Baldwin was the first Cistercian who filled the see of Canterbury. All his predecessors (who had been monks at all) had been Benedictines. A perpetual feud raged between this archbishop and his monks, from whom he desired to take their so often claimed right of election to the Primacy, and to bestow it on a body of canons, who would be more easily managed. The canons were to be established at Hackington, near Canterbury, but the monks procured a papal bull by which the scheme was altogether frustrated. A second attempt of Archbishop Baldwin to establish his canons at Lambeth, which he purchased for the see, was prevented by his death. He had followed Cœur de Lion to the Holy Land, and died (Dec. 1190) in the camp before Acre. His portrait has been favourably drawn by Giraldus Cambrensis, who accompanied him whilst preaching the Crusade in Wales, and who was afterwards with him in Palestine.

The monks of Christ Church, as soon as they were made aware of the Archbishop's death, elected

[A.D. 1191, Nov.—Dec.,—RICHARD I.] REGINALD FITZ JOCELYN, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who consented to his election with great reluctance, but died before his pall could be received from Rome. Richard, during his detention in Germany, wrote to his mother Eleanor, and to

the Archbishop of Rouen, entreating them to procure the election of

[A.D. 1193—July 13, 1205—RICHARD I., JOHN.] HUBERT WALTER; and the monks, fearing that the suffragans of Canterbury would be assembled for this purpose, elected him beforehand of their own accord.

Hubert Walter, born at West Derham, in Norfolk, and educated under Ranulph de Glanville, Chief Justiciary of England, had become Bishop of Salisbury in the first year of Richard I., whom he had accompanied, and by whose side he had fought, on his famous crusade. On the return of the King, after Hubert's elevation to the primacy, the Archbishop was made Chief Justiciary; but the monks speedily procured a bull from Pope Innocent III., ordering Cœur de Lion to remove him from this office, since it compelled him to sit as a judge in "causes of blood." King John, however, immediately after his accession, made Hubert his Chancellor; and for the first time an Archbishop of Canterbury filled that high office, the duties and privileges of which combined with his archbishopric to make him by far the most powerful subject in England. He retained the chancellorship until his death, and in the discharge of that and of his other duties seems to have won golden opinions from all men. "*Principis erat frenum, et tyrannidis obstaculum,*" says Giraldus Cambrensis, who knew him well, "*populi pax et solatium, majorum pariter et minorum suis diebus contra publicæ potestatis oppressiones in necessitate refugium.*" The laws promulgated under Richard I. are said to have been drawn up by this archbishop, who, as Chancellor, strengthened the defences of the Tower of London, and formed the 'Tower Ditch,' or fosse, surrounding it, into which he brought the water of the Thames. He completed, under certain restrictions insisted on by the monks of Christ Church, the house of regular canons at Lambeth, which his predecessor had commenced. Archbishop Hubert died (July 13, 1205) at his

manor of Teynham, on the Watling Street between Rochester and Canterbury, and was buried in his own cathedral, where his effigy still remains. (Pt. I. § XXXVII.)

On the death of Hubert, the younger monks of Christ Church hastily elected their sub-prior, Reginald, to the vacant see. Their elder brethren subsequently declared this election void, and with the royal permission chose John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich. The suffragan bishops acquiesced, and De Gray was duly enthroned, and invested with the temporalities by King John. It was agreed upon by all, however, that an appeal should be made to Rome, in order to determine with whom—the monks or the suffragan bishops—the right of election to the primacy really lay. The Pope, Innocent III., decided in favour of the monks, and annulling both the late elections as having been irregularly made, commanded them to choose

[A.D. 1207—July 9, 1228—JOHN, HENRY III.] STEPHEN LANGTON, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus. "Innocent could not have found a Churchman more unexceptionable, or of more commanding qualifications for the Primacy of England. Stephen Langton was an Englishman by birth<sup>a</sup>, of irreproachable morals, profound theological learning, of a lofty, firm, yet prudent character, which unfolded itself at a later period in a manner not anticipated by Pope Innocent. Langton had studied at Paris, and obtained surpassing fame and honourable distinctions. Of all the high-minded, wise, and generous prelates who have filled the see of Canterbury, none have been superior to Stephen Langton, and him the Church of England owes to Innocent III."

Langton was accordingly consecrated at Viterbo, June 17, 1207, by Pope Innocent himself. "The fury of John

<sup>a</sup> He is said to have been born at Exeter, but this is uncertain; nor are the rank and position of his parents at all known.

<sup>r</sup> Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, iv. 84.

knew no bounds: he accused the monks of Canterbury of having taken his money in order to travel to Rome, and of having there betrayed him; he threatened to burn their cloister over their heads. They fled in the utmost precipitation to Flanders; the Church of Canterbury was committed to the monks of St. Augustine, the lands of the monks of Christ Church lay an uncultivated wilderness\*." To the Pope he declared that "Stephen Langton at his peril should set foot on the soil of England." Innocent at last, after much expostulation, published, (March 24, 1208,) through the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, the famous interdict. The prelates who published it, besides some other bishops, fled the kingdom. "From Berwick to the British Channel, from the Land's End to Dover, the churches were closed, the bells silent; the only clergy who were seen stealing silently about were those who were to baptize new-born infants with a hasty ceremony, those who were to hear the confession of the dying, and to administer to them, and them alone, the holy Eucharist. The dead (no doubt the most cruel affliction) were cast out of the towns, buried like dogs in some unconsecrated place, in a ditch or a dung-heap, without prayer, without the tolling bell, without funeral rite†."

The steps by which John proceeded to alienate the whole of his subjects, laity as well as clergy, cannot be detailed here. Stephen Langton at last obtained a relaxation of the interdict so far as to allow the performance of divine service once a week in the conventual churches, and in these the King was (1210) personally excommunicated. In the following year the Pope released his subjects from their oath of allegiance; and finally, at Soissons, (April 8, 1213,) in presence of the King of France himself, Langton solemnly proclaimed the deposition of King John, and exhorted Philip Augustus to take up arms to dethrone him.

\* Lat. Christ., iv. 85.

† Id., 87.

The result of this was the despair of John, in presence of the great French preparations for invasion, the arrival in England of Pandulph the legate, and the famous scene in which John resigned his crown (May, 1213) in the Church of the Templars at Ewell, near Dover. John consented to receive the Archbishop and the Prelates who had been exiled, and on St. Margaret's-day (July 20, 1213,) Stephen Langton, accompanied by the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, landed at Dover and proceeded to Winchester, where they were met before the gates by the King, who fell at their feet, weeping. He was absolved by them in the cathedral.

So far Langton had, in conjunction with the Pope, been asserting the liberties of the Church against the King. He was now to assert the liberties of England against the same King, but also in opposition to the Pope. He was at the head of the barons of England during that momentous strife which ended in the signature of the Great Charter. It was Langton who, in effect, began the struggle, by protesting that the King could not legally arm against the barons who had left him on his embarkation for Poitou, before a fair trial had taken place; and it was he who produced to the barons the charter of Henry I. He was not present at the great meeting at St. Edmundsbury, and never appeared in arms. His name is that of the first witness to Magna Charta, (June 15, 1215,) and when the Pope, who was now on the side of John, abrogated the Charter, and enjoined the Primate and his suffragans to publish the excommunication of the barons, Stephen Langton demanded delay, and firmly refused to publish the excommunication, as having been obtained from the Pope by false representations. The Archbishop proceeded to attend the Lateran Council to which he had been summoned. Langton had some time before inhibited the papal legate, the Cardinal of Tusculum, from inducting prelates and priests within the realm; and the appeal of the Archbishop and Cardinal

to Rome had of course been decided in favour of the latter\*. This appeal had been only one of the Archbishop's offences against the Pope, and on his arrival in Rome, (Nov., 1215,) he found Innocent severe and unbending. He was solemnly suspended from all ecclesiastical functions; and although this suspension was afterwards relaxed, he was compelled to remain at Rome "in a kind of stately disgrace, an exile from his see." Here he was detained throughout all the subsequent troubles in England, until the death of Pope Innocent III. (July, 1216,) was succeeded in a few months by that of King John, (Oct. 1216).

Langton was now permitted to return to his see, and the remainder of his archiepiscopate was passed in comparative tranquillity. It was he who presided (July 7, 1220) at the translation of the remains of Becket from the crypt to Trinity Chapel. (Pt. I. § xxvii.) Much of the archiepiscopal palace at Canterbury was rebuilt by him. He died, July 8, 1228, at his manor of Findon in Sussex, and was buried in his own cathedral, where his tomb still remains, (Pt. I. § xxxix.)

Archbishop Langton was the first who divided the Bible into chapters: "as," says Fuller, "Robert Stephens, a Frenchman, that curious critick and painful printer, some six score years since, first subdivided it into verses. A worthy work, making Scripture more manageable in men's memories . . . and the passages therein the sooner to be turned to, as any person is sooner found out in the most populous city, if methodized into streets and houses with signs\*."

See YORK for a notice of Simon Langton, the worthy brother of this archbishop, who was sent to Rome as the delegate of the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he ap-

\* The legate had been empowered by Innocent, without consulting the primate or the bishops, to appoint to all the benefices which had become vacant during the interdict.

\* Worthies—Kent.

pealed against the intrusions of the legate ; and who afterwards held the archbishopric of York in spite of the papal prohibition, the only time during which the two highest preferments in the English Church have been held by two brothers.

After a struggle between the King and the monks, who had elected one of their own body, named Walter de Evesham,

[A.D. 1229—1231—HENRY III.] RICHARD DE WETHERSHED, Chancellor of Lincoln, was appointed and consecrated. He died in 1231, whilst on his return from Italy, at the little town of St. Gemma, and was buried in the Church of the Friars Minors there.

The monks now elected—one after another—Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, and Chancellor ; John, Prior of Christ Church ; and Richard Blondy, who afterwards became Bishop of Exeter ; all three of whom were set aside on different pretexts by Pope Honorius III. At the earnest entreaty of the Pope they at length consented to receive

[A.D. 1234—1240—HENRY III.] EDMUND, treasurer of Salisbury, whose learning and piety were of great reputation, but who had never dreamed of aspiring to so great a dignity. He was the son of Edward Rich, a merchant of Abingdon, and was educated at University College in Oxford. Influenced, perhaps, by the new Order of Friars Preachers—the Dominicans, who were just commencing their career<sup>7</sup>, (although he never himself joined their ranks,) he left Oxford to commence a life of wandering and preaching throughout the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, and Worcester ; and his fame as a preacher, which at length became considerable, procured him the treasurership of Salisbury, whence he was raised to the primacy. As Primate he was too firm and too earnest to escape perse-

<sup>7</sup> St. Dominic died Aug. 6, 1221.

cution. He excited the anger of the King by his opposition to the marriage of Eleanor, sister of Henry III., to Simon de Montfort, on the ground that she had vowed to remain unmarried after the death of her first husband. The papal legate Otho opposed the Archbishop, on account of the frequent reproofs of his extortion and rapacity. The monks of Rochester appealed to Rome against him because he refused to consecrate as their bishop one of their number, who was altogether unworthy. On this occasion Archbishop Edmund himself repaired to Rome, where, however, by the ill offices of his enemy the legate Otho, he was unsuccessful. In the year 1240, despairing of the condition of England and of her Church, which was completely in the hands of foreigners, he voluntarily exiled himself, and in November of the same year died, it is said, enfeebled by excessive abstinence, in the Cistercian abbey at Pontigny, where he had found a refuge on leaving England, and which was probably endeared to him from its recollections of Becket and of Langton, both of whom had been sheltered there. Within six years after his death, Archbishop Edmund was canonized by Pope Innocent IV. His remains, under the direction of Louis IV. of France, were placed in a rich shrine, which still occupies the most distinguished position in the ancient church of the abbey, and which, it is said, still contains the bones of the sainted archbishop.

The best excuse for the desertion of his charge by Archbishop Edmund is to be found in the condition of England, which he was powerless to improve. "Throughout the long reign of Henry III. this country was held by successive Popes as a province of the papal territory. The legate, like a prætor or proconsul of old, held, or affected to hold, an undefined supremacy. . . . England was the great tributary province, in which papal avarice levied the most enormous sums, and drained the wealth of the country by direct or indirect taxation\*." English sees and English

\* Lat. Christ., iv. 307.

benefices, the latter in great numbers, were held by foreigners, either intruded by the Pope or relatives of the Queen, Eleanor of Provence. "All existing documents shew that the jealousy and animosity of the English did not exaggerate the evil." More than once, and in different parts of England, the people rose against the intruders, but little change was effected. The most powerful of the foreign prelates was St. Edmund's successor in the English primacy,

[A.D. 1241—1270.—HENRY III.] BONIFACE OF SAVOY, Bishop of Bellay, son of Peter, Count of Savoy, uncle of the Queen, Eleanor of Provence, and "brother of that Philip of Savoy, the warlike and mitred body-guard of Innocent IV., who became Archbishop of Lyons. Boniface was elected in 1241, confirmed by Pope Innocent not before 1244. The handsome, proud prelate, found that Edmund, however saintly, had been but an indifferent steward of the secular part of the diocese. Canterbury was loaded with an enormous debt, and Boniface came not to England to preside over an impoverished see. He obtained a grant from the Pope of first-fruits from all the benefices in his province, by which he raised a vast sum. Six years after, the Primate announced and set forth on a visitation of his province, not, as it was said, and as too plainly appeared, for the glory of God, but in quest of ungodly gain. Bishops, chapters, monasteries, must submit to this unusual discipline, haughtily and rapaciously enforced by a foreigner. From Feversham and Rochester he extorted large sums. He appeared in London, treated the Bishop (Fulk Basset, of the noble old Norman house) and his jurisdiction with contempt. The Dean of St. Paul's stood by his bishop. The Primate appeared with his cuirass gleaming under his pontifical robes. The dean closed the doors of his cathedral against him. Boniface solemnly excommunicated Henry, Dean of St. Paul's, and his chapter, in the name of St. Thomas, the martyr of Canterbury. The sub-prior of St. Bartholomew's (the prior was dead) fared still worse. He calmly pleaded

the rights of the bishop; the wrathful Primate rushed on the old man, struck him down with his own hand, tore his splendid vestment, and trampled it under foot. The Bishop of London was involved in the excommunication. The Dean of St. Paul's appealed to the Pope. The excommunication was suspended. But Boniface himself proceeded in great pomp to Rome. The uncle of the Queen of England, the now wealthy Primate of England, could not but obtain favour with Innocent. The Dean of St. Paul's was compelled to submit to the supreme archiepiscopal authority. On his triumphant return, Boniface continued his visitation. . . . He trampled on all rights, all privileges. The monks of Canterbury obtained a papal diploma of exemption; Boniface threw it into the fire, and excommunicated the bearers. The King cared not for, the Pope would not regard, the insult."

"After the accession of Alexander IV. the Archbishop of Canterbury is in arms, with his brother the Archbishop of Lyons, besieging Turin to release the head of his house, the Count of Savoy, whom his subjects had deposed and imprisoned for his intolerable tyranny. The wealth of the churches of Canterbury and Lyons was showered, but showered in vain, on their bandit army. Turin resisted the secular, more obstinately than London the spiritual, arms of the Primate. He returned, not without disgrace, to England. With such a primate the Pope was not likely to find much vigorous or rightful opposition from the Church of England\*."

Archbishop Boniface did not remain inactive during the barons' wars under Simon de Montfort. He was one of the King's council in the so-called "Mad Parliament" at Oxford, (June, 1258,) and was afterwards either exiled or voluntarily fled the kingdom, to which and to his see he was only restored under certain express conditions. He again left England, however, and died July 18, 1270, at the

\* Lat. Christ., v. 27—29.

Castle of St. Helena in Savoy. His tomb remains at 'Altacumba,' with the inscription "Hic jacet Bonifacius de Sabaudia, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, operibus et virtutibus plenus." Among the 'opera' of this archbishop three virtuous ones are certainly recorded. He freed his see (whether by means as good as the deed itself is not so certain) from the enormous debt of 22,000 marks which his predecessors had contracted; he founded, in honour of Becket, hospices for the reception of pilgrims or poor travellers, both at Canterbury and at Maidstone; and he completed the great hall of the palace at Canterbury.

After the monks had in vain attempted to procure the papal recognition of their sub-prior, William Chillenden, whom they had elected, Pope Gregory X. himself nominated

[A.D. 1273—1278.—EDWARD I.] ROBERT KILWARDBY, a Franciscan of great learning, educated at Oxford and at Paris. Although the Christ Church Benedictines had long insisted that their head and archbishop should be a monk of their own order, they had been compelled to receive more than one who had never taken any monastic vows, and did not now venture to dispute the choice of the Pope. Like his predecessor, Archbishop Kilwardby made the visitation of his entire province, and displayed his learning in disputations held in both Universities. In London he built a convent for the Friars Minors, to which Order he belonged, and one for the Dominicans at Salisbury. About the year 1278 Archbishop Kilwardby visited Rome, and was created Cardinal-bishop of Portus. He then abdicated the English archbishopric, and not long afterwards (Sept. 1279) died, it was said, of poison, at Viterbo, where he was buried in the church of the Dominicans.

[A.D. 1279—Dec. 1292.—EDWARD I.] JOHN PECKHAM, nominated, like his predecessor, by the Pope, after the monks had in vain attempted to elect Bishop Burnell, of Bath and Wells, was, like Kilwardby, a Franciscan, born of obscure

parents in Sussex, educated at Oxford and Paris, and afterwards a student of both laws at Lyons, in the cathedral of which city he obtained a canon's stall, which he retained during his life, and which his successors in the see of Canterbury held one after another for the next two centuries<sup>b</sup>. Peckham subsequently became "Auditor of the Chamber" in the household of Pope Nicholas III., by whom he was selected to fill the English primacy.

As Archbishop, Peckham was at first a steady supporter of the King, Edward I., whose great aim was the consolidation of the whole British empire under his sovereignty. The Archbishop accompanied Edward on his Welsh expedition, and pronounced an excommunication against Llewellyn and the rest of the chieftains of Wales. His voice does not seem to have been raised "against the cruel and ignominious executions with which Edward secured and sullied his conquest. Against the massacre of the bards, perhaps esteemed by the English clergy mere barbarians, if not heathens, there was no remonstrance<sup>c</sup>." His acquiescence in Edward's great financial measure—the remorseless plunder and cruel expatriation of the Jews—is not less certain. He caused them to be expelled from every part of the diocese of Canterbury, and directed their synagogues to be levelled with the ground.

Archbishop Peckham vigorously defended the privileges of his see, and resisted the pretensions of the Archbishop of York, who insisted on having his cross borne before him within the province of Canterbury, when he attended the synod at Lambeth in the year 1280. Peckham directed that no one should receive the rival archbishop, or sell his attendants provision of any kind until the cross-bearer had disappeared; a virtual excommunication which speedily brought about the desired result. Toward the end of his archiepiscopate, Peckham had many struggles in main-

<sup>b</sup> It was retained probably as some kind of provision in case of exile.

<sup>c</sup> Milman, v. 178.

tenance of his privileges with the King himself, and narrowly escaped exile in consequence. He died, however, at his manor of Mortlake, Dec. 1292, and was buried at Canterbury in the transept of the Martyrdom, where his tomb and effigy still remain (Pt. I. § xx). He had founded the collegiate church of Wingham, in Kent, but died very wealthy.

A provincial synod was held by Archbishop Peckham at Lambeth in 1281, the most important decrees of which will be found in Collier<sup>4</sup>. The tenth canon, which directs parish priests to explain "the fundamental and necessary parts of religion to the people every quarter," is important as containing an abstract of the authoritative teaching of the English Church at this time. The quarrel of the English clergy with Rome, which during the reign of Henry III. had been kept at boiling pitch by the papal pretensions, by the intrusion of foreigners into the richest sees and benefices, and by the incessant demands for money, had now somewhat abated. "The short lives of the later Popes, the vacancy in the see of Rome, and (later) the brief papacy of Cœlestine (1293), relaxed to some extent the demands of tenths and subsidies." On the other hand, the acquisition of wealth by the English Church, and its consequent power, were greatly checked by the famous Statute of Mortmain, which was passed in 1279, the first year of Archbishop Peckham's primacy<sup>5</sup>.

[A.D. 1292—1313—EDWARD I., EDWARD II.] ROBERT WINCHELSEA was in all probability born at Winchelsea, in Sussex, although this is uncertain. He was educated at Canterbury, in the school attached to the monastery of Christ Church, proceeded to Merton College, Oxford, and thence went to Paris, of which University he became Rector. He afterwards returned to Oxford and was elected Chan-

<sup>4</sup> Church History, bk. v. cent. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Hallam, M. A., vol. ii. pp. 226, 227 (ed. 1855), with Milman, Lat. Christ., vol. v. p. 183.

cellor. Winchelsea seems to have been regarded as one of the most learned and able men of the time, and it was with the general approbation of king, clergy, and monks that he was nominated Primate. He was already Archdeacon of Essex and a Canon of St. Paul's.

The Archbishop-elect at once proceeded to Rome, where he found the papal throne vacant, and seems to have been present at the inauguration of Cœlestine V. (Peter Morrone) the hermit-pope. He was consecrated at Rome in September, 1294, and did not return to England until March 1294. During his absence, the King, Edward I., between whom and Philip the Fair of France war was impending, demanded of the clergy, in a Parliament at Westminster, a subsidy of half of their annual revenue. The clergy were confounded, but at last "submitted with ungracious reluctance, in hopes no doubt that their Primate would soon appear among them; and that he, braced as it were by the air of Rome, would bear the brunt of opposition to the King." Similar measures, involving the severe taxation of the clergy, who had hitherto considered themselves, in principle at least, as free from all civil assessments, were taken by Philip of France; and Boniface VIII. (Benedetto Gaetani) who had succeeded Cœlestine V., at once constituted himself champion of the Church property, and issued his famous bull *Clericis laicos*, which declared that without his consent no aid, benevolence, grant, or subsidy could be raised on the estates or possessions of the clergy by any temporal sovereign in the world. It was believed in England that the bull was obtained by the influence of Archbishop Winchelsea, who was still in Rome.

Neither Edward nor Philip, however, were to be thus intimidated. "The year after the levy of one half of the income of the clergy, a Parliament met at St. Edmondsbury. The laity granted a subsidy; the clergy, pleading their

<sup>1</sup> Lat. Christ., v. 186.

inability, as drained by the payment of the last year, or emboldened by the presence of the Primate, refused all further grants." A struggle immediately commenced between them and the King, who ordered locks to be placed on all their barns, and that they should be sealed with the King's seal. The Archbishop summoned a provincial synod, which peremptorily refused all concession. At length "the whole clergy of the realm were declared by the Chief Justice on the Bench to be in a state of outlawry: they had no resort to the King's justice. . . . They were now in a perilous and perplexing condition; they must either resist the King or the Pope . . . There was division among themselves. A great part of the clergy leaned toward the more prudent course, and agreed to set aside a fifth part of their revenue, in some sanctuary or privileged place, to be drawn forth when required by the necessities of the Church or the kingdom. The papal prohibition was thus, it was thought, eluded . . . The Primate, as though the shrine of Thomas à Becket spoke warning and encouragement, refused all submission, but he stood alone, and alone bore the penalty. His whole estate was seized for the King's use . . . Notwithstanding the papal prohibition, the clergy at length yielded, and granted a fourth of their revenue. The Archbishop alone stood firm . . . He retired with a single chaplain to a country parsonage, discharged the humble duties of a priest, and lived on the alms of his flock<sup>a</sup>."

The war had now broken out; but before the King's departure for Flanders, feeling it dangerous to leave his young son in the midst of a hostile clergy, he restored his barony to the Archbishop and summoned him to a Parliament at Westminster, in which he entrusted the heir of England to the care of his future people. At this time the two charters—the Great Charter and that of the Forests—were confirmed, and it was directed that they

<sup>a</sup> Lat. Christ., v. 190.

<sup>b</sup> Id., 191, 192.

should be sent to all the cathedrals in the realm, to be there kept, and read in the hearing of the people twice every year. "Thus the clergy of England, abandoning their own ground of ecclesiastical immunities, took shelter under the liberties of the realm. Of these liberties they constituted themselves the guardians, and so shrouded their own exemptions under the general right, now acknowledged, that the subject could not be taxed without his own consent<sup>1</sup>."

Edward, however, retained no good-will to the Archbishop, and on his return from Flanders accused Winchelsea of having conspired, during the King's absence, to dethrone and imprison him, and to set up his young son, afterwards Edward II., in his place. How far the accusation was proved is not evident, but the Archbishop was deprived of all his possessions, and none were permitted to assist him, or even to receive him under their roofs. He would, it is said, have died of hunger, had not the monks of Christ Church secretly supported him until he was able to escape into France. For this assistance the monks themselves were afterwards driven from their convent, and not restored for some months. The Archbishop passed two years in exile, suspended by the Pope, at the instance of Edward, from the discharge of all functions, spiritual or temporal, until he should clear himself from the charge brought against him. On the accession of Edward II., however, he was recalled, and restored to all his honours. In spite of his opposition to the young King's favourite, Peter de Gaveston, who had imprisoned the Bishop of Coventry, Winchelsea continued undisturbed in the discharge of his office until his death at Otford in 1313.

The charities of Archbishop Winchelsea, during his prosperity, were worthy of an English primate. Every Sunday and Friday he gave to all comers a loaf worth one farthing,

<sup>1</sup> Lat. Christ., v. 198.

(equal to at least four-pence at present). When corn was dear, not less than 5,000 persons are said to have been thus relieved; when it was cheap, not fewer than 4,000. On every solemn festival he distributed 150 pence to the poor. Many students were supported by him at Oxford. The people regarded him as a saint, and his tomb, of which some slight trace remains in the south-east transept, (Pt. I. § xxxvi.,) was sought as a shrine by thousands. For this reason it is said to have been removed by Henry the Eighth's commissioners, at the same time as the greater shrine of the "Martyr of Canterbury."

[A.D. 1313—Nov. 1327—EDWARD II.]—WALTER REYNOLDS was appointed, at the instance of King Edward, by the Pope, who set aside the monks' election of Thomas Cobham, Dean of Salisbury. Reynolds, who was Bishop of Worcester, had been tutor to Edward II., and in 1310 had been made that King's Chancellor. He continued in office for about a year, and when, after the death of Gaveston, it was settled that there should be no chancellor, but that the King should appoint a "keeper" under the superintendence of three persons to be named by the barons, Walter Reynolds became the new Keeper of the Great Seal, which he retained for twelve months after his elevation to the primacy. As Archbishop, Reynolds obtained from Rome no less than eight bulls of privileges, the most important of which gave him permission to make a visitation of his province extending over three years, for which time the jurisdiction of all his suffragan bishops was suspended. Notwithstanding his early connection with Edward II., and the favour with which that king had always regarded him, he deserted him in his troubles, and is said to have died of terror because the Pope had threatened him with spiritual censures for having somewhat irregularly consecrated Berkeley Bishop of Exeter, with a view to please the Queen and her favourite. His tomb remains in the south choir-aisle of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § xxxvii.)

[A.D. 1328—1333—EDWARD III.] SIMON MEPHAM, born at Mepham in Kent, and educated at Merton College, Oxford, was elected by the monks, and consecrated at Avignon. He was unfortunate in his episcopate. A dispute between himself and the monks of Christ Church concerning certain Kentish manors was decided by the Pope against him; and during his visitation of his province, which he commenced after the custom of his predecessors, he was resisted by Grandisson, the powerful Bishop of Exeter, who encountered the Archbishop at the west door of his cathedral, and opposed his entrance by force. "This affront," says Fuller, "did half break Mepham's heart," and the recent decision of the Pope, which he had just learnt, "did break the other half." The Archbishop died at his palace of Mayfield, in Sussex, soon after his return from the West. His beautiful tomb forms the screen of St. Anselm's Chapel in the cathedral, (Pt. I. § XXXIII.) He rebuilt the parish church at Mepham, his birth-place.

[A.D. 1333—1348—EDWARD III.] JOHN STRATFORD was nominated by the Pope, at the instance of the young King, Edward III. He was probably born at Stratford-upon-Avon, was partly educated at Merton College, Oxford, where he acquired high reputation for his proficiency in the civil and canon laws, and became at a very early age Archdeacon of Lincoln. Through the influence of Archbishop Reynolds, the Pope nominated Stratford to the bishopric of Winchester in 1323. Robert Baldock, however, Edward the Second's Chancellor, had intended Winchester for himself; and managed accordingly to persecute the new bishop until, again by the influence of Archbishop Reynolds, he was received to the royal favour. Edward II. employed him on various embassies, and in the last year of his reign made him his Lord Treasurer. He remained faithful to the King's cause, which even the Archbishop had deserted, during the temporary triumph of Queen Isabella. At this time he was compelled to remain in

concealment, but when the young King, Edward III., took upon him the government of the realm (1330), Stratford was at once made Lord Chancellor. In 1333 he was elected to the primacy. He ceased to be Chancellor in the following year, but again received the Great Seal in 1335, and retained it until 1337, when it was delivered to his brother, Robert de Stratford,—“the single instance of two brothers holding successively the office of Lord Chancellor<sup>1</sup>.” In 1340 the Archbishop became Chancellor for the third time, and in the same year was again succeeded by his brother.

The fall of the Stratfords was, however, at hand. The Archbishop had dissuaded the King from commencing his French war, asserting plainly that his claim to the crown of France was not a sound one. It is probable that this advice had from the first irritated the young King, but both Stratfords apparently retained his favour until his sudden return from France in 1340, after his great naval victory in the Zwyn. But from this victory he had, however, gained no fruits, and he had incurred immense debts with the Flemings. The remittances from England came in but slowly, and Edward, finding it convenient to throw the blame on those he had left in authority at home, on his arrival in England deprived and imprisoned Robert de Stratford, then the Chancellor; and arraigned the Archbishop himself of high treason, accusing him of malversation of the subsidies levied for the war. “The Archbishop flies from Lambeth, (two other bishops, Lichfield and Chichester, the King’s treasurers, had been sent to the Tower). At Canterbury he ventures to excommunicate his accusers, the King’s counsellors, with bell, book, and candle. He returns to London, but shrouds himself under the privileges of Parliament, rather than under his eccle-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Campbell; who compares the two Stratfords in the fourteenth century, to the two Scotts, Lord Eldon and Lord Stowell, in the nineteenth.

siastical immunity. He forces his way, himself bearing his cross, into the House of Peers, as his place of security, his one safe sanctuary. He is at last obliged to submit, ere he can be admitted to compurgation, to an investigation before a jury of twelve of his peers—four prelates and eight nobles. The quarrel is settled by amicable intervention, but the King grants, rather than condescends to accept, pardon. This arraignment of Becket's successor without a general insurrection of the Church, with no papal remonstrance, though Stratford himself held the loftiest doctrines on the superiority of the priest to the layman, is an ominous sign<sup>\*</sup>. England, throughout the long reign of Edward I., "was becoming less hierarchical, the hierarchy more English." The heavy taxation of the Crown, to which the clergy had been compelled to submit, made them more impatient of the taxation of the see of Rome, from which they had been further alienated by the intrusion of foreign prelates into the wealthiest sees. An additional step toward rendering the Crown independent of the hierarchy was taken by Edward III. on the fall of the Stratfords by the appointment of a layman as Chancellor<sup>1</sup>.

The remaining years of Archbishop Stratford's life were comparatively untroubled. He died at Mayfield in Sussex, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 1348, and was interred in his own cathedral, where his monument still remains, (Pt. I. § xxxv.) In his native town of Stratford-upon-Avon he founded a collegiate church.

Some time before the death of Archbishop Stratford, Edward III. had written to the Pope, Clement VI., pro-

<sup>\*</sup> Lat. Christ., vi. 99. The proceedings against Stratford form an important precedent, according to Hallam, towards the determination of the question whether bishops are entitled, on charges of treason or felony, to a trial by the peers.—*Middle Ages*, vol. iii. pp. 204-5, (ed. 1855).

<sup>1</sup> The first lay Chancellor was Sir Robert Bouchier, a distinguished soldier.

testing against the papal nominations to vacant English sees, which had recently become so frequent ; and asserting, what was equally an innovation, that the right of nomination had always belonged to the Crown. This letter was followed up by the "Statute of Provisors," passed in 1350. Although the papal intrusions still continued, and rendered other measures necessary, the stand thus made against Rome by Edward III. contributed not a little to increase the power of the Crown, and to render the English hierarchy more completely national<sup>m</sup>.

The monks of Christ Church elected Thomas Bradwardine as Stratford's successor. The King, however, insisted on the appointment of John Ufford, a son of the Earl of Suffolk, and Chancellor of England ; who was accordingly recognised by the Pope. But he died (May, 1349) of the terrible 'Black Death,' unconsecrated and without the pall, within six months of his nomination, and he is, therefore, not reckoned among the archbishops. On his death, monks, King, and Pope agreed in their choice of [A.D. 1349, June—Aug.—EDWARD III.] THOMAS BRADWARDINE, the "Doctor Profundus" of the Schoolmen, who had long been the King's confessor. He was consecrated at Avignon, died soon after his return to England, and was buried in the cathedral at Canterbury, in St. Anselm's Chapel. Bradwardine was born at Hartfield in Sussex, and educated at Merton College. His most important book was a tract against Pelagianism, entitled *De Causa Dei, vel de Virtute Dei, Causa Causarum*. Archbishop Bradwardine, says Fuller, "mingled his profitable doctrines with a sweet and amiable conversation ; indeed, he was skilled in school learning, which one properly calleth 'spinosa theologia ;' and though some will say, 'Can figgs grow on thorns ?' yet his thorny divinity produced much sweet devotion . . . I behold him as the most pious man who,

<sup>m</sup> See, for a notice of the "Statute of Provisors," Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. pp. 239, 240, (ed. 1855.)

from Anselm (not to say Augustine) to Cranmer, sat on that seat. And a better St. Thomas, though not sainted by the Pope, than one of his predecessors commonly so called<sup>a</sup>." Chaucer thus alludes to him in his "Nun's Priest's tale":—

"But I ne cannot boult it to the bren  
As can the holy Doctour Saint Austin,  
Or Boece; or the Bishop Bradwardine."

Archbishop Bradwardine was the most conspicuous of English geometers during the fourteenth century: "Yet more for his rank and for his theological writings than for the arithmetical and geometrical speculations which gave him a place in science<sup>b</sup>."

The primacy had been vacant three times within the year; it was now filled by

[A.D. 1349—1366—EDWARD III.] SIMON ISLIP, educated at Merton, *bina lege probatus*, and the King's secretary. As Archbishop, Islip is said to have been somewhat severe, and to have cared little about external magnificence. He built, however, the greater part of the palace at Mayfield, where the ruins of his beautiful hall still remain; and completed the archiepiscopal palace at Maidstone, which Ufford had commenced. Islip is said to have "wasted, in his building, more of the timber in the Dour-dennes (Wcald of Kent) than any of his predecessors<sup>c</sup>." At Oxford he founded and endowed Canterbury Hall (now forming part of Christ Church<sup>d</sup>), in which he endeavoured to blend together the monastic and secular clergy, and of which, when the original intention had apparently failed, and the monks had been removed, Wycliffe the reformer

<sup>a</sup> Church History, cent. xiv. bk. iii.

<sup>b</sup> Hallam, Lit. Hist., pt. i. ch. 2. § 34.

<sup>c</sup> Birchington.

<sup>d</sup> A memorial of Islip's foundation remains in the name of "Canterbury Quadrangle."

was named Warden'. Archbishop Islip died at Mayfield, April 26, 1366, and was buried in the nave of his cathedral, whence all trace of his tomb has disappeared.

[A.D. 1366—1368—EDWARD III.] SIMON LANGHAM, Bishop of Ely, Treasurer of England, and (1363) Lord Chancellor, was Islip's successor. That he was not altogether popular appears from the monastic rhymes which recorded his translation:—

“ Exultant oeli quia Simon venit ab Ely  
Cujus in adventum fient in Kent millia centum.”

He restored the monks to Canterbury Hall, and dispossessed Wycliffe. “Soon after his translation,” says Collier, “he received a strict order from Pope Urban V. to enquire into the pluralists of his province; and here, upon examination, it was found that some clerks had no less than twenty benefices and dignities by papal provisions, with the privileges, over and above, to increase their number as far as their interest would reach.” In 1368 he received a cardinal's hat from Urban V., and (Nov. 17, 1368) resigned his archbishopric, the temporalities of which had already been seized by the King, who “had not been made pre-acquainted with his promotion.” Langham died at Avignon in 1376, and was buried in the church of the Carthusians there, whence, three years later, his remains were conveyed to the Abbey Church of Westminster, in which great convent he had been successively monk, prior, and abbot, and where (in the chapel of St. Benedict) his tomb, with effigy, still remains.

• See the narrative in Milman's *Lat. Christ.*, vi. 106.

• Collier, *Ch. Hist.*, bk. vi. cent. xiv.

• Collier. Dean Milman instances the fact of the Archbishop's resignation as one of the many proofs of a “change in the national opinion and in the times.” The cause, however, is not altogether evident. It is asserted that Langham was aiming at the Papacy, and that when he found his hopes in that direction disappointed, “*abdicati sui archiepiscopatus penituisse videtur.*” — *Anglia Sacra*, i. 120.

[A.D. Oct. 1368—June, 1374—EDWARD III.] WILLIAM WHITTLESEA, a nephew of Archbishop Islip, who had employed him on many embassies to the court of Rome, was translated to Canterbury from Worcester on the nomination of the Pope. Little is recorded of this Archbishop, whose tomb, in the nave of his cathedral, has been long destroyed.

[A.D. 1375—June 14, 1381—EDWARD III., RICHARD II.] SIMON OF SUDBURY was translated from London by the provision of the Pope, who knew that the choice would not be displeasing to Edward III. The father of the Archbishop, who was of noble birth, was Nigel Theobald, of Sudbury in Suffolk. Simon was sent at an early age to the different French Universities, in which he pursued the study of law with great success. He afterwards became *Auditor Rotæ* in the court of Innocent VI., then Chancellor of Salisbury and Bishop of London, from which see he was translated to Canterbury. In 1379 (the third year of Richard II.) the great seal was delivered to Archbishop Simon, "*contra gradum suæ dignitatis*," says Walsingham, since he had never been Chancellor before his elevation to the primacy.

As Chancellor, Archbishop Simon, in the parliament of Northampton (1380), proposed the famous poll-tax which served as an excuse for the outbreak of Wat Tyler's rebellion; and as Archbishop, he had imprisoned at Maidstone the priest John Ball, "a religious demagogue of the lowest order," who became one of its principal leaders. After Jack Straw and his mob had advanced from Blackheath upon London, and whilst the young King was holding his conference with the mass of the rebels at Mile-end, Wat Tyler, with a body of 400 men, broke into the Tower, in which the Archbishop, and Robert Hales, the Treasurer, had remained after the departure of the King to Mile-end;—seized, and beheaded them. The Archbishop had passed the night in prayer, and was in the act of celebrating Mass

when the noise of the attack was first heard. He presented himself of his own accord to the rebels, and was dragged to the castle yard, where he warned them that violence offered to him would possibly lead to the placing of all England under an interdict. In spite of the fervour with which he addressed them,—“erat vir eloquentissimus,” says Walsingham, “et incomparabiliter ultra omnes regni sapientes sapiens,”—he was compelled to kneel, and after many blows his head was struck off. He died imploring pardon on his enemies. His body remained on the ground all that day and a part of the next, no one venturing to touch it. His head, like that of the Treasurer, was fixed on a pike, and after being carried in mockery through the streets, was hung over London Bridge. A man named John Starling, who boasted that he had killed the Archbishop, was himself beheaded a few days later; and Walsingham asserts that more than one miracle was afterwards wrought at the intercession of the murdered Simon of Sudbury. Comparisons were even made between him and the great martyr of Canterbury, as in Gower’s *Vox Clamantis*:—

“Quatuor in mortem spirarunt fœdera Thomæ;  
Simonis at centum mille dedere necem.”

The Archbishop’s body was conveyed to Canterbury, and buried in the south choir-aisle of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § xxxv.) “Not many years ago, when this tomb was accidentally opened, the body was seen within, wrapped in cerecloth, a leaden ball occupying the vacant space of the head.” Archbishop Simon rebuilt much of the church of St. George at Sudbury, his native place, and founded a college of secular priests there. At Canterbury he built the west gate, still remaining, and great part of the city walls. In commemoration of the benefits he had bestowed on their town, the mayor and aldermen used to pay an annual visit to his tomb “to pray for his soul.”

▪ Stanley.

[A.D. 1381—July 31, 1396—RICHARD II.] WILLIAM COURTENAY, son of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was translated to Canterbury from London, like his predecessor. The recent rebellion had been attributed, with entire injustice, to the spread of Wycliffe's doctrines, and John Ball was regarded as his partizan. "Between the two men there was no connection, less sympathy." Wycliffe had already twice appeared before Courtenay as Bishop of London, and had twice defied or escaped prosecution. Now, however, the Archbishop, full of the indignation and terror inspired by the sight of his predecessor's headless trunk, "summoned a synod to deliberate and determine on the measures to be taken concerning certain strange and dangerous opinions widely prevalent, as well among the nobility as among the commons of the realm". The synod condemned twenty-four articles gathered out of the writings of Wycliffe, and much persecution of those supposed to favour him speedily followed. But the Wycliffites were not silenced, nor was Wycliffe himself drowned "in so strong a stream as ran against him." "Admirable," continues Fuller, "that a hare so often hunted by so many packs of dogs should die at last quietly sitting in his form".

Archbishop Courtenay, more fortunate than his predecessor Mepham, succeeded in establishing his right to the visitation of his province, although, like Mepham, he was opposed by the Bishops of Exeter (see EXETER—Bishop BRANTYNGHAM) and of Salisbury. He died July 31, 1396, at Maidstone, but there is some doubt whether he was interred there or at Canterbury. His monument remains, however, in the cathedral, adjoining that of the Black Prince (Part I. § XXXI.), of whose will, Courtenay, when Bishop of London, had been one of the executors. He left large sums toward the completion of the nave of Canterbury, the re-

† Lat. Christ., vi. 127.

‡ Church Hist., cent. xiv. bk. iv. Wycliffe died at his parsonage at Lutterworth, Dec. 31, 1384.

building of which had been commenced under Archbishop Simon, and was continued during his own archiepiscopate. At Maidstone he rebuilt the church, dedicating it afresh to All Saints, and connecting it with the college of secular priests which he established there.

[A.D. 1396—1414—RICHARD II., HENRY IV., and HENRY V.]

THOMAS ARUNDEL, by papal provision, was translated to Canterbury from York. He was the son of Robert Fitzalan, thirteenth Earl of Arundel, and younger brother of Richard the fourteenth earl, who was beheaded. The new Archbishop had scarcely been enthroned when he became involved in the conspiracy for which his brother, the Earl of Arundel, was executed before his face; and was himself exiled. He fled to the Papal Court, where he remained until the success of Bolingbroke's expedition restored him to his see. It was Archbishop Arundel who received the abdication of Richard II., by whom he had been exiled. "Arundel presented Henry to the people as their king, . . . Arundel set the crown upon his brow, . . . Arundel might seem to have forgotten in his loyal zeal that he was the successor of Becket. In the insurrection of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury, two clergymen were hanged, drawn, and quartered without remonstrance from the Primate. . . . When Archbishop Scrope (of York), after the revolt of the Percies, is beheaded as a traitor, Arundel keeps silence."

In the first Parliament of Henry IV. (1400) the statute *De hæretico comburendo*, necessary to legalize the burning of heretics, was enacted; and under its provisions William Sawtree, a Wycliffite preacher at St. Osyth's, in the city, was solemnly condemned by Archbishop Arundel in a convocation at St. Paul's (1408), and delivered to the secular arm for burning. Sawtree is to be regarded as the first English Protestant martyr, although "he does not lead the

† Lat. Christ., vi. 142.

holy army with much dignity." Two other Lollards, John Badbee and William Thorpe, were condemned by the Archbishop during the reign of Henry IV., the first of whom was burnt. After the accession of Henry V., Arundel was principally employed in attacking the famous head of the Lollards, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, whose history need not be related here. Arundel was present at the head of the other bishops in the Dominican convent at London when Cobham was condemned in 1413.

Archbishop Arundel died Feb. 19, 1414. In the Parliament of 1407 he had firmly defended the clergy against the attacks of the Commons, who sought to throw the burden of their taxation upon the wealth of the Church; but his archiepiscopate is chiefly memorable for his persecution of the Lollards, whose teaching was spreading too widely, and was far too dangerous to the hierarchy, to be allowed to remain unchecked.

[A.D. 1414—April 12, 1443—HENRY V. and HENRY VI.]

HENRY CHICHELE, elected by the monks, would not consent to recognise their election until it had been confirmed by Pope John XXIII.\* Chichele was born about the year 1362, of wealthy but not of noble parents, at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, and was educated in Wykeham's colleges at Winchester and Oxford. His especial patron was Richard Metford, Bishop of Salisbury, who made him archdeacon successively of Dorset and of Salisbury, and by whose advice he was appointed in 1397 ambassador to

\* Milman, vi. 144. Sawtree on his trial declared that he had never made a former recantation, the proofs of which were brought into court. "But," says Fuller, "let those who severely censure him for *once* denying the truth, and do know who it was that denied his Master *thrice*, take heed they do not as bad a deed more than *four* times themselves. May Sawtree's final constancy be as surely practised by men, as his former cowardliness no doubt is pardoned by God."—*Church Hist.*, bk. iv. cent. xv.

\* The Pope, however, whilst he nominated Chichele, claimed the right of provision.

Gregory XII. at Sienna. By this Pope's "provision" he was afterwards consecrated at Lucca Bishop of St. David's; and in 1409 Chichele was present at the Council of Pisa, where he assented to the degradation of Gregory XII. In 1414 he became archbishop.

It is certain that Shakspeare has, with entire historical truth, represented (see "Henry V.," act i. sc. 1, 2) the Primate as justifying, if not urging, the "iniquitous claim" of Henry V. to the crown of France. "The lavish subsidies of the Church were bestowed with unexampled readiness and generosity for these bloody campaigns. It was more than gratitude to the House of Lancaster for their firm support of the Church and the statute for burning heretics; it was a deliberate diversion, a successful one, of the popular passions to a foreign war, from their bold and resolute aggressions on the Church<sup>b</sup>,"—much of the temporalities of which the Commons in Parliament had more than once proposed to strip away. Archbishop Arundel had resisted them boldly and openly; Archbishop Chichele by diverting attention to a French war, and by promising large subsidies from the clergy for its maintenance. He retained the favour of Henry V. throughout that King's life, and was godfather to the Prince, afterwards Henry VI.

Whilst, however, the English hierarchy was thus defending itself, the new Pope, Martin V., who after the Council of Constance "resumed all the haughty demeanour and language of former pontiffs," addressed Chichele as the metropolitan of the English Church, reproving his "criminal remissness and cowardice" in not opposing and procuring the reversal of the many statutes—especially those of "provisors" and of "præmunire"—by which the papal power in England had been held in check. Chichele is reminded that he is the successor of the glorious martyr St. Thomas. But the Archbishop "strove to maintain

<sup>b</sup> Lat. Christ., vi. 236.

a middle course. He could not defy the Pope, he knew that he could not annul the law of England. He urged on a Parliament at Westminster the terrors of a papal interdict on the land. The Parliament paid no further regard to these terrors than to petition the Pope to restore the Primate of England to his favour<sup>c</sup>;" and the University of Oxford, whilst they give him the title of the "golden candlestick of the Church of England," declare to the Pope that Chichele "stood in the sanctuary of God as a firm wall that heresy could not shake nor simony undermine . . . that he was the darling of the people and the foster-parent of the clergy." The Archbishop, however, was never restored to the favour of the Court of Rome during the pontificate of Martin V.

In his native town of Higham Ferrers, Archbishop Chichele founded a collegiate church and a hospital. At Oxford he was the founder of St. Bernard's College (for Cistercian students),—which after the Reformation became St. John's,—and of All Souls'; in the name and statutes of which College it is possible to trace that "deep remorse for his sin" in instigating the last great war of conquest in France, with which his declining years were haunted. The members of the Society were enjoined to pray for the "souls of Henry V., and the Duke of Clarence, together with those of all the dukes, earls, barons, knights, esquires, and other subjects of the Crown of England, who had fallen in the war with France." At Canterbury, Archbishop Chichele built and furnished with books a library for the monks of Christ Church.

In 1442 the Archbishop applied to Pope Eugenius for permission to resign his see, since he was "so heavy laden, aged, infirm, and weak, as not to be able any longer to bear the burden of it." Before any reply was received, however, Chichele died, April 12, 1443, having held his archiepiscopate for nearly thirty years, a longer period

<sup>c</sup> Lat. Christ., vi. 239.

than any of his predecessors. His tomb, which was constructed by himself during his lifetime, and is kept in repair by the society of All Souls', remains in the north choir-aisle of his cathedral (Pt. I. § XXIV.), and, like his college, seems to indicate a deeply penitential spirit.

[A.D. 1443—July 6, 1452—HENRY VI.] JOHN STAFFORD, Bishop of Bath and Wells, whom Chichele had recommended to the Pope as his successor, was accordingly nominated by Eugenius IV., with the King's consent. He was a son of the Earl of Stafford, had been patronized by Chichele, and was made by Henry V. Dean of Wells and Treasurer of England. Martin V. appointed him to the see of Bath and Wells in 1425, and in 1431 he became Lord Chancellor, an office which he retained for more than ten years, a period of unusual length. Archbishop Stafford, who seems to have been distinguished either as chancellor or archbishop by no very remarkable ability, died at Maidstone in 1452. He was buried in the south choir-aisle of his cathedral.

[A.D. Sept. 1452—March, 1454—HENRY VI.] JOHN KEMP, Archbishop of York, succeeded. He was born at Wye, in Kent; educated at Merton College, Oxford; became Archdeacon of Durham; Bishop successively of Rochester, Chichester, and London; and in 1425 Archbishop of York. In 1439 he was created Cardinal of St. Balbina, and was further raised to be Cardinal of St. Rufina on his translation to Canterbury. Hence a verse concerning him ran,—

*"Bis primas, ter præses, et bis Cardine functus."*

He died at a great age, before he had been six months primate, and is buried in the north choir-aisle (Pt. I. § XXXV.) When Archbishop of York he raised to a collegiate church, and endowed accordingly, the parish church of his native place, Wye.

[A.D. 1454—1486—HENRY VI., EDWARD IV., EDWARD V.,

RICHARD III., HENRY VII.] THOMAS BOURCHIER, Bishop of Ely, was freely elected by the monks, whom the King would in no way influence. He was the son of William Bourchier, Count of Eu in Normandy, and Earl of Essex in England, by Anne, daughter of Thomas Woodstock, sixth son of Edward III., of whom the Archbishop was consequently the great grandson. Archbishop Bourchier was educated at Oxford, of which University he became Chancellor in 1434; in 1435 he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester, whence he was removed to Ely in 1443. In 1454 he became Archbishop, and in 1464 he was created Cardinal of "St. Cyriacus in Thermis."

Archbishop Bourchier fell upon troubled times, and was called upon more than once to play a difficult part. In 1455, whilst the royal authority was for a short time resumed by Queen Margaret, Archbishop Bourchier was made Chancellor, and he was allowed to retain the Great Seal after the battle of St. Alban's in the spring of the same year (May 22), which gave back the power to the Yorkists. He did not resign it until October 1456, when the party of the Red Rose was again uppermost. The great seal was once more in his custody for a short time in 1460. The Archbishop, who had always affected neutrality in the struggle between the two Roses, effected their final union by performing the marriage ceremony between Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York (Jan. 18, 1486). Two months afterwards (March 30), Archbishop Bourchier closed his long life at his palace of Knowle, and was interred at Canterbury, where his tomb remains.

His episcopate, as Bishop successively of Worcester and of Ely, and as Archbishop, lasted for 51 years; and is the longest on record in the English Church. For thirty-two of those years he filled the primacy. Throughout his life, Archbishop Bourchier was an active patron of learning and of men of letters; and has the honour of having contributed toward the introduction of printing into this country.

[A.D. 1486—Sept. 1500—HENRY VII.] JOHN MORTON, like his predecessor, was translated to Canterbury from Ely. He was born in 1410, at Bere, in Dorsetshire, of good but not distinguished parentage; was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, in which University he became *Legum Doctor*, and was afterwards patronized by Archbishop Bouchier, who recommended him to Henry VI. He served that King faithfully as a privy councillor until Edward IV. was firmly seated on the throne, "when he thought it not inconsistent with the duties of a good citizen to submit to the ruling powers without renouncing his former attachments<sup>d</sup>." The royal favour was continued to Morton by Edward IV., who made him Master of the Rolls, Bishop of Ely (in 1478), and by his last will appointed him one of his executors. In this capacity he had some sort of guardianship of the royal children; and Richard of Gloucester, who had made overtures to him in vain, found it necessary for the success of his projects to remove the Archbishop, who was accordingly committed to the Tower after the famous scene at the council from which Lord Hastings was led off to execution. This scene has been drawn by Shakespeare from Sir Thomas More's "Life of Richard III."—the details of which are said to have been furnished by Morton, himself the Bishop of Ely whose strawberries were so famous:—

*Glo.* My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn  
I saw good strawberries in your garden there,  
I do beseech you send for some of them.

*Ely.* Marry, and will my lord, with all my heart.

\* \* \* \* \*

Where is my Lord Protector? I have sent  
For these strawberries . . . .<sup>e</sup>

After a petition from the University of Oxford, which declared that, "like Rachel weeping for her children, she

<sup>d</sup> Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, i. 412.

<sup>e</sup> King Richard III., act iii. sc. 4.

was moved with pity over the lamentable distress of this her dearest son," Morton was committed to the care of the Duke of Buckingham, and was imprisoned in the castle of Brecknock. Thence he managed to escape, and joined the Earl of Richmond on the Continent, whose invasion he assisted in planning. After the battle of Bosworth, Morton was recalled to England, and on the death of Cardinal Bourchier Henry VII. procured his election to the primacy. In the year 1493 he obtained a cardinal's hat for the Archbishop from Pope Alexander VI. The marriage of Henry with Elizabeth of York, although celebrated by Archbishop Bourchier, is said to have been originally brought about by Morton.

In 1487 Archbishop Morton was made Lord Chancellor, and continued in this office, and in the unabated confidence of the King, for thirteen years, until his death in 1500. "Although he appeared merely to execute the measures of the King, he was in reality the chief author of the system for controlling the power of the great feudal barons, and he may be considered the model, as he was the precursor, of Cardinal Richelieu, who in a later age accomplished the same object still more effectually in France." Archbishop Morton, however, encouraged the "indefinite exactions miscalled benevolences" from which Henry reaped no small profit; and he is "famous for the dilemma which he proposed to merchants and others whom he solicited to contribute. He told those who lived handsomely that their opulence was manifest by their rate of expenditure. Those, again, whose course of living was less sumptuous, must have grown rich by their economy. Either class could well afford assistance to their sovereign. This piece of logic, unanswerable in the mouth of a privy councillor, acquired the name of 'Morton's forks.'"

Cardinal Morton procured from Alexander VI. the ca-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Campbell's Chancellors, i. 414.

<sup>2</sup> Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. i.

nonization of his great predecessor, St. Anselm. He died at Knowle (Sept. 1500), and his tomb, constructed during his lifetime, remains in the crypt of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § XL.) His portrait has thus been drawn in the introduction to the "Utopia," by Sir Thomas More, who knew him well:—"He was of a middle stature, in advanced years, but not broken by age; his aspect begot reverence rather than fear. He sometimes took pleasure to try the mental qualities of those who came as suitors to him on business, by speaking briskly though decorously to them, and thereby discovered their spirit and self-command; and he was much delighted with a display of energy, so that it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great resemblance to his own temperament, and best fitting men for affairs. He spoke both gracefully and mightily; he was eminently skilled in the law; he had a comprehensive understanding, and a very retentive memory; and the excellent talents with which nature had furnished him were improved by study and discipline."

[A.D. 1501—Feb. 15, 1503—HENRY VII.] HENRY DEAN was translated from Salisbury, after Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester, who had first been elected, had died of the plague before his translation could be effected. Dean himself, who had been translated from Bangor to Salisbury, and to whom the Great Seal was committed (but with the title of Lord Keeper only) on the death of Archbishop Morton, died at Lambeth within a year of his elevation. He was buried at Canterbury in the transept of the Martyrdom. No monument remains.

[A.D. 1503—Aug. 23, 1532—HENRY VII., HENRY VIII.] WILLIAM WARHAM, born at Okely, near Basingstoke, of a good Hampshire family, was educated at Winchester and at New College. His first patron was Archbishop Morton, who recommended him to Henry VII., by whom he was sent on a mission to the court of Burgundy to remonstrate against the countenance given by the Duchess Margaret,

sister of Edward IV., to the pretended Duke of York, Perkin Warbeck. On his return, Warham was made Master of the Rolls and Bishop of London, and in 1503 was translated to Canterbury. His installation feast was one of the most magnificent on record, (see Pt. I. § LIV.) The Great Seal, with the title of Lord Keeper, was given to Warham when Bishop of London, immediately on the death of Archbishop Dean. He retained it (as Lord Chancellor after his elevation to the primacy) until 1515, when the plotting of Wolsey compelled him to resign.

As Archbishop, Warham placed the crown on the head of Henry VIII., against whose marriage with his brother's widow, Catherine of Arragon, he protested from the first. Great jealousy existed between the Archbishop and Wolsey, who coveted the possession of the Great Seal, which Warham long retained in spite of him, and whose legatine authority interfered with the legitimate supremacy of the Primate. Warham retired from the court, after his resignation of the Great Seal in 1515, but was still exposed to the insults of Wolsey until the fall of the Cardinal in 1527. The Archbishop, however, never returned to the court of Henry. Although he had given it as his opinion that the original papal dispensation for the King's marriage was *ultra vires*, and that he was entitled to a divorce, Warham, foreseeing the great changes that were impending, had embraced the side of the "old religion," and had in effect shewn himself opposed to the divorce, unless with the full consent of the Pope. He passed his latter years at his different Kentish palaces, on the repairs of many of which he spent large sums, occupied with the duties of his diocese, and with literature, of which he shewed himself an enlightened patron. Shortly before his death he gave, as did others of his party, some countenance to the famous Nun of Kent, Elizabeth Barton. He died, happily for himself, since he thus escaped the evils to which More and Fisher were soon afterwards exposed, Aug. 23, 1532,

at St. Stephen's, near Canterbury. On his death-bed he asked what money there was in his coffers, and being told thirty pounds, replied, "*Satis viatici ad cœlum.*" His tomb remains in the transept of the Martyrdom, (Pt. I. § xx.)

Archbishop Warham had early contracted a friendship with Erasmus, whom he induced to visit England, and upon whom he bestowed the living of Aldingbourn in Kent. Erasmus dedicated to the Archbishop his edition of St. Jerome; and in a letter written shortly after Warham's death, having described his occupation as Chancellor and Archbishop, he proceeds to give the following picture of him: "His only relaxation was pleasant reading, or discoursing with a man of learning. Although he had bishops, dukes, and earls at his table, his dinners never lasted above an hour. He appeared in splendid robes becoming his station; but his tastes were exceedingly simple. He rarely suffered wine to touch his lips; and when he was turned of seventy his usual beverage was small beer (*per tenuem cerevisiam quam illi biriam vocant*), which he drank very sparingly. But while he himself abstained from almost everything at table, yet so cheerful was his countenance and so festive his talk, that he enlivened and charmed all who were present . . . He made it a rule to abstain entirely from supper. . . . He shunned indecency and slander as one would a serpent. So this illustrious man made the day, the shortness of which many allege as a pretext for their idleness, long enough for all the various public and private duties he had to perform."

[A.D. 1533—1556—HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., MARY.]

THOMAS CRANMER, the successor of Warham, is to be regarded as the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury. He would only consent to accept the archbishopric as coming immediately from the King, without any kind of papal intervention; and both before and at the time of his consecration, made a solemn protest against any interpretation

of the oaths he was about to take, which should be opposed to his obedience to the King, to the laws of England, or to his support of the Reformation.

Cranmer was born in the year 1489, of a good and ancient family, at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire. He was educated at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Jesus College. In 1529, whilst the plague was raging at Cambridge, Cranmer retired with two of his pupils to Waltham Abbey in Essex, where he accidentally met Fox and Gardiner, the King's almoner and secretary. To them Cranmer declared his opinion that the great question of the royal divorce, then in full agitation, might far better be decided "by the divines of the universities of Christendom upon the authority of God's Word," than by any appeal to the Pope. Henry, weary of his long negotiations with Pope Clement VII., pronounced that "the man had the sow by the right ear," sent for Cranmer to court, made him his chaplain, and placed him in the family of Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, father of the future Queen, with orders to write upon the subject of the divorce. Cranmer did so, and was afterwards made Archdeacon of Taunton.

In 1530, Cranmer accompanied the Earl of Wiltshire on his embassy to the papal court. His book was presented to Clement, and he offered to maintain its assertions in public, but found no opponent. The Pope at this time made him his Penitentiary throughout England, Ireland, and Wales. "Only to stay his stomach for that time," says Fuller, "in hope of a more plentiful feast hereafter, if Cranmer had been pleased to take his repast on any popish preferment." This, however, he did not propose to himself. From Bologna, where he had found the Pope, he passed into Germany, and there married the niece of Osiander, who, like himself, had written in favour of the divorce. He was still absent in 1532, when the death of Archbishop Warham occurred; and was not himself consecrated Archbishop until March in the following year. The

Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph officiated at the ceremony.

As Archbishop, Cranmer pronounced (May 23, 1533) the sentence of divorce between Henry and Catherine, and on the 25th of the same month the King was secretly married to Anne Boleyn, by Dr. Rowland Lee, one of his chaplains. It was Cranmer who placed the crown on the head of the new Queen, and who baptized her daughter Elizabeth, being at the same time one of her sponsors. After the trial of Anne Boleyn he pronounced in turn that marriage void, and acted as confessor to the unhappy queen during her imprisonment in the Tower. Throughout his episcopate, Cranmer, the first married Primate, vigorously supported the reforming party. In the year 1537 he assisted in compiling the book entitled "The Godly and Pious Institute of a Christian Man," which was revised by the King, and is the first English book "set forth by authority" in which the doctrines of the Reformation were at all advanced. In 1539 Cranmer was one of the commissioners "for inspecting into matters of religion," and in the same year protested against the act, said to have been drawn up by Gardiner, called that of "the six bloody articles," one of which expressly forbade the marriage of priests. On this occasion he sent back his wife and children into Germany. In the Parliament of 1544 he procured an act moderating the rigour of the six articles. In 1545 the opposite party, led by Gardiner, accused him of heresy, especially in the matter of the Sacrament of the Altar; and Cranmer would probably have fallen at this time, had not Henry himself protected him:—

"The Archbishop

Is the King's hand and tongue; and who dare speak  
One syllable against him <sup>a</sup>."

In spite of his having more than once opposed the King's

<sup>a</sup> King Hen. VIII., act v. co. 1.

wishes, Henry befriended Cranmer throughout his life, and sent for him to attend his death-bed.

An entire revolution had taken place at Canterbury since the elevation of Cranmer to the primacy. In April, 1538, (see Pt. I. § XXVII.,) the remarkable summons to Archbishop Becket had been read by the side of the shrine, and in August of the same year the shrine itself was destroyed, and its numberless jewels removed by the royal commissioners under Dr. Leyton. On March 30, 1539, the great monastery of Christ Church was finally dissolved, and the new establishment, consisting of a dean and twelve canons, was placed in full possession of the cathedral and the conventual buildings.

By the will of Henry VIII. Cranmer was appointed one of the regents of the kingdom, and one of the executors of the will itself. The Archbishop crowned Edward VI. (Feb. 20, 1546), to whom, as well as to Elizabeth, he had been godfather. Throughout the short reign of Edward he was earnest in advancing the Reformation. The six articles were repealed, the Communion in both kinds was established, and in 1548 the first "Book of Common Prayer" was set forth, which was "reviewed" in 1551, reprinted with alterations, and authorized by Parliament in 1552.

On the death-bed of Edward, Cranmer signed the King's will, in which he appointed Lady Jane Grey his successor. Immediately on the accession of Mary he was ordered to appear before the council, and within a month (Sept. 13, 1553) was committed to the Tower. On the 3rd of November he was pronounced guilty of high treason, but was pardoned on this ground, and it was determined that he should be proceeded against as a heretic. In April, 1554, he was sent to Oxford with Ridley and Latimer, and a public disputation was held between them and the opposite party. They remained in prison at Oxford for nearly two years, and the Archbishop was condemned as a heretic

by two successive commissions. In February, 1554, he was degraded and deprived. His fellow martyrs, Ridley and Latimer, had suffered in the previous September; and it is said that Cranmer, during their last agony, went up to the roof of his prison (called the Bocardo), near the tower of St. Michael's Church, in the Cornmarket, whence he had a view of the pyre, and on his knees with outspread hands prayed to God to give them constancy of faith and hope. Cranmer's well-known recantation was signed after his deprivation, but did not save his life. On the 21st of March, 1554, he was brought to St. Mary's, and placed on a kind of stage opposite the pulpit. Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton, preached; and Cranmer afterwards made his solemn confession of faith, renouncing altogether the recantation his "unworthy right hand" had signed. That hand he declared should first suffer punishment. From the church he was hurried to the place of execution, opposite Balliol College, and after stretching his hand into the flame and holding it there until it was consumed, died "keeping his eyes fixed to heaven, and repeating 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'" It is said that his heart was found entire among the ashes.

The remaining works of Archbishop Cranmer have been collected and published in 4 vols. 8vo., by Dr. Jenkyns (Oxford, 1833). His life belongs so completely to the history of his time, that in order to be followed with any accuracy it must be studied in immediate connection with that. Its latter portion should be read in the admirable narrative of Mr. Froude (*History of England*, vols. v. vi.) Very important materials for a life of Cranmer, rather than a true biography, were collected by Strype (*Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, 2 vols. 8vo.), and other lives have been published by Archdeacon Todd (2 vols. 8vo., London, 1831), and by the Rev. C. W. Le Bas (2 vols. 12mo., London, 1833). A life is also prefixed to the edition of his works by Dr. Jenkyns. The narrative of

his martyrdom will be found in Foxe, and extracts from it in Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography."

[A.D. 1556—1558—MARY.] REGINALD POLE, the successor of Cranmer, was a younger son of Sir Richard Pole, Lord Montague, and Margaret, daughter of George Duke of Clarence, younger brother to King Edward IV. Reginald was thus nearly connected with Henry VIII. He was born in the year 1500, at Somerton Castle, in Worcestershire, and was educated by the Carthusians of Shene, and at Magdalen College, Oxford. At a very early age he was ordained deacon, and in 1517 was made Prebendary of Salisbury. Before he was nineteen he received the deanery of Exeter and some other preferments, in addition to which a large yearly pension was assigned him by the King. On leaving Oxford, Pole visited the Universities of France and Italy, spent some time at Padua and Venice, and returned to England in 1525.

The conduct of Reginald Pole during the discussion of the King's divorce cannot be detailed here. After Henry had in vain attempted to gain his support, he was permitted to withdraw, still retaining his pension, first to Avignon and then to Padua, where he wrote the remarkable treatise *Pro Unitate Ecclesiastica*, a copy of which he sent to Henry, and which was afterwards, in 1536, published at Rome. In this book the King's supremacy was altogether denied, and Pole, recollecting the fate of More and Fisher, refused to return to England when sent for by the King. His pension was accordingly withdrawn, he was deprived of all his English dignities, and an act of attainder was passed against him.

In December, 1537, Reginald Pole was compelled, very unwillingly, to accept a cardinal's hat. There is reason to believe that his objections arose from a hope which he had long entertained of becoming the husband of the Princess Mary, and of thus placing himself on the English throne. In the following year occurred the Northern rebellion,

called the Pilgrimage of Grace; and Pole, with the title of Legate beyond the Alps, was sent into Flanders to communicate with and assist the rebels. The rebellion, however, was suppressed before he reached Liege; and although he opened communications with the disaffected, he found that nothing could be accomplished. His elder brother, Lord Montague, who had shared in the Cardinal's treason, was now executed; and, after the second rising, in 1541, his mother, the venerable Countess of Salisbury. There can be little doubt that Cardinal Pole, not impossibly with a view to the English crown, had kept up the disaffection in the North to the utmost of his ability.

Pole remained in Italy until the death of Edward VI., in July, 1553. Upon the accession of Mary, after the question of his marriage had been again discussed, and set aside by the influence of the Emperor, Charles V., he was appointed Legate for England, where he arrived in Nov. 1554. Cranmer was at this time in prison, and the Legate was installed in the palace at Lambeth. As Legate he absolved the Parliament, and made a solemn entry into London. On the 22nd of March, 1554, the day after the execution of Cranmer, he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

For the next three years the sole management of ecclesiastical affairs in England rested with Pole, who beyond a doubt assented to the religious persecutions which disgraced the reign of Mary, although it may be true that he did not urge them on. The Cardinal was deprived of his legatine powers, however, and accused as a "suspected heretic" by the Pope, Paul IV. (Peter Caraffa), who had opposed him in Italy, and who had desired the elevation of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, to the primacy, instead of Pole. The Archbishop made complete submission, and was again appointed Legate, but only a short time before his death. This occurred Nov. 18, 1558. Queen Mary herself died the day before. Both the Queen and the Arch-

bishop died of an epidemic fever then general throughout England.

Cardinal Pole was buried in the 'corona' at Canterbury (Pt. I. § xxxii.), where his tomb remains. He was the last Archbishop of Canterbury buried in his own cathedral, (see Pt. I. § xxiv., note.)

[A.D. Dec. 1559 — May 1575 — ELIZABETH.] MATTHEW PARKER, the second Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, but the first of the uninterrupted succession, was born of a good family at Norwich, in 1504, and educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Here his learning and abilities were so conspicuous that Wolsey invited him to become a fellow of his newly-established college at Oxford. This he declined, perhaps on account of his leaning toward the "new religion," of which he became a zealous supporter. He was appointed, however, preacher at Court and at St. Paul's Cross, and in 1533 was made chaplain to Anne Boleyn, who recommended her daughter Elizabeth to his especial care and instruction. After the Queen's death, Parker continued chaplain to Henry VIII., and afterwards to Edward VI., and became Master of his College at Cambridge, for which he compiled a new book of statutes. Edward VI. made him Dean of Lincoln, and in this reign he did good service by venturing into the camp of the rebels under Kett in Norfolk, and there exhorting them "to temperance, moderation, and submission." Under Queen Mary he was, as a married priest, deprived of all his preferments, and remained in obscurity until the accession of Elizabeth, who raised him to the primacy. He was elected, in due form, by the new "chapter" of Canterbury.

Parker was consecrated in the chapel at Lambeth, Dec. 17, 1559, by Barlow, Edward the Sixth's Bishop of Bath and Wells; by Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter; and by Scory, Bishop of Hereford. "When the ceremony of the confirmation" [at the Court of Arches, which took place on

the day before (?) the consecration] "was over, the Vicar-General, the Dean of the Arches, and other officers of that court, were entertained at the 'Nag's Head Tavern' in Cheapside. This treat gave occasion to the senseless story of the 'Nag's Head' consecration<sup>1</sup>,"—a story which, it need hardly be said, has been so effectually disproved that the most unscrupulous Romanist would hardly now venture to assert its truth.

As Archbishop, Parker shewed himself one of the most prudent Churchmen of his time. His views of public affairs both in Church and State were wide and far reaching, and it is probable that no other member of the English hierarchy would have filled the metropolitan see so well during the difficult years which succeeded the accession of Elizabeth. He directed that great caution should be observed in administering the oath of supremacy to those of the clergy who still favoured the "old religion," and if he displayed a severer temper in his dealings with the Puritans, it must be remembered that religious toleration, as we now understand it, was then altogether unthought of on either side; and that the Archbishop clearly saw the dangers to which the teaching of such men as Cartwright was necessarily tending. "He was a *Parker* indeed," says Fuller, "careful to keep the fences and shut the gates of discipline against all such night stealers as would invade the same<sup>2</sup>." He was himself not a little troubled by the Queen's dislike of a married clergy—especially by the injunction sent by Cecil to the Archbishop in August 1561, forbidding "all heads and members of any college or cathedral church, to have their wives or any other women within the precincts of such places." Parker remonstrated, but in vain. It was after this injunction that Elizabeth, who had been entertained by the Archbishop at Lambeth, took leave of his wife with the remarkable courtesy, "*Madam* [the style

<sup>1</sup> Collier, bk. vi. See also Fuller, Ch. Hist., bk. ix. § 8.

<sup>2</sup> Fuller, Ch. Hist., bk. ix. § 3.

of a married lady] I may not call you; *Mistress* [then the appellation of an unmarried woman] I am loth to call you. However, I thank you for your good cheer."

The "table of prohibited degrees in marriage," still printed at the end of the Prayer-book, and formerly hung up in every church, was drawn up by Archbishop Parker. His treatise *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, is still a book of some value; and he published for the first time the Chronicles of Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, and Walsingham, besides the Anglo-Saxon Gospels. The Archbishop was an active patron of learning and of art, "entertaining in his palaces, bookbinders, engravers, and painters, and those who wrote fine hands and understood drawing and illuminating!" He died at Lambeth, May 7, 1575. According to his own desire, his bowels were deposited in an urn in Lambeth Church, where his wife had been interred. His body was placed in the tomb which he had constructed for himself, near the south side of the altar in the chapel of Lambeth Palace. This tomb was levelled by a Colonel Scott, one of the purchasers of the palace during the civil war, who converted the chapel into a "hall or dancing room." The Archbishop's body was then thrown into one of the outhouses. It was re-interred in the chapel by Archbishop Sancroft, who placed over it a marble slab, with this inscription, "*Corpus Matthæi archiepiscopi tandem hic quiescit.*" In the picture gallery of Lambeth is a good portrait of Archbishop Parker, painted by Richard Lyne, one of the artists whom he retained in his establishment.

[A.D. 1576—1583—ELIZABETH.] EDMUND GRINDALL, "a prelate most primitive in all his conversation," says Fuller, was translated from York to Canterbury. He was born at St. Bees in Cumberland, and was educated at Cambridge, where he became Master of Pembroke Hall. Through Bishop Ridley he was made one of Edward the Sixth's

<sup>1</sup> Collier.

chaplains, and would have been raised to the bishopric of London but for the King's death. He remained in Germany during the troubles of Queen Mary's reign, and on the accession of Elizabeth became the first Protestant Bishop of London. Thence he was removed to York in 1570, and in 1575 was nominated to the primacy.

Grindall, probably from his continental experience, was far more disposed to regard the Puritans with favour than his predecessor had shewn himself. He steadily refused to forbid the 'prophesyings' or meetings of the clergy for discussing the meaning of Scripture, to which Elizabeth so greatly objected; and was in consequence sequestered from his jurisdiction for nearly the whole period of his archiepiscopate. He became blind before his death, and proposed to resign the primacy. Before, however, the matter was determined, Archbishop Grindall died at his palace of Croydon, July 6, 1583. He was interred in the parish church of Croydon, where his tomb, with effigy, remains.

[A.D. 1583—1604—ELIZABETH, JAMES I.] JOHN WHITGIFT, according to Fuller, "one of the worthiest men that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy," was of a very different temper from his predecessor. He belonged to an ancient family long settled at Whitgift in Yorkshire, but was himself born, in 1530, at Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Cambridge, where John Bradford the martyr, then a Fellow of Pembroke, was his tutor. His reputation soon became considerable, and about the year 1565, after preaching before the Queen, he was made one of Elizabeth's chaplains. In 1567 he became Master of Pembroke Hall, and in the same year Master of Trinity. At this time he distinguished himself by an answer to Cartwright's "Admonition," "written," says Mr. Hallam, "with much ability, but not falling short of the work it undertook to confute in rudeness and asperity".

= Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, ch. iv.

gift's "asperity," however, was by no means displeasing to Elizabeth, who made him, in 1573, Dean of Lincoln, and in 1576 Bishop of Worcester. Had Grindall resigned the primacy, as the Queen was anxious he should do, Whitgift was the prelate who was destined to fill his place. He refused, however, to accept it during the lifetime of Grindall, and it was not until after his death in 1583 that Whitgift was translated to Canterbury.

The asperity of Whitgift towards the Puritans became still more marked after his elevation, which "the wisest of Elizabeth's counsellors had ample reason to regret." He insisted that every minister of the Church should subscribe to three points: the Queen's supremacy, the lawfulness of the Common Prayer and Ordination services, and the truth of the whole Thirty-nine Articles. It is possible that the law had already required subscription to all these points, but it had hitherto been evaded; and "the kingdom now resounded with the clamour of those who were suspended or deprived of their benefices, and of their numerous abettors." The manner in which the Archbishop called into action one of the powers of the High Commission Court, by tendering the oath *ex officio* (binding the taker to answer all questions that should be put to him), was especially remonstrated against by Lord Burleigh, who declared that the articles of examination were "so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as he thought the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and trap their preys." In spite, or rather in consequence, of these extreme measures, the famous libels which were published under the name of "Martin Marprelate," began to appear in 1588, and in 1590 the Puritans attempted to set up their "platform of government by synods and classes," which was, in effect, an overt act of revolution. The dissatisfaction was by no

\* Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, (vol. i. ch. iv. p. 199, ed. 1855.)

• *Ibid.*

means appeased on the accession of James, who, on his way to London, rejected a petition for a due consideration of their position signed by more than 1,000 of the more Puritanical clergy. The Archbishop, who is said to have dreaded the discussions which were expected to follow on the meeting of the King's first Parliament, died at Lambeth, Feb. 29, 1607, before it had assembled. Elizabeth had constantly called him "her little black husband," "which favour nothing elated his gravity, carrying himself as one unconcerned in all worldly honour."

Whitgift was buried in the parish church of Croydon, where his monument remains. "Bishop Babington, his pupil, made his funeral sermon, choosing for his text 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16; and paralleling the Archbishop's life with gracious Jehoiada." The school and hospital founded by him in the town of Croydon still bear witness of his liberality.

[A.D. 1604—1610—JAMES I.] RICHARD BANCROFT carried forward the severe measures of his predecessor with yet more vigour and "asperity." He was born near Manchester in 1545, and educated at Jesus College, Oxford. Through the influence of Sir Christopher Hatton he was made one of Elizabeth's chaplains, and afterwards became Bishop of London, whence he was translated to Canterbury in 1604. He was, in Fuller's words, "a most stout champion to assert Church discipline, most stiff and stern to press conformity," inculcating the King's absolute power beyond the law, endeavouring to establish episcopacy in Scotland, and prosecuting the Puritans with more severity than they had experienced even under Elizabeth. Many were deprived of their benefices, many driven into exile. Bancroft, however, like his successor Laud, interfered to stop some who were setting out for Virginia. The Archbishop died at Lambeth Nov. 2, 1610, and was buried in the parish church there.

[A.D. 1610—1633—JAMES I., CHARLES I.] GEORGE ABBOT

▷ Fuller, Church Hist., bk. x. § 2.

¶ Ibid.

was one of that "happy ternion of brothers," as Fuller calls them (the other two were Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, and Sir Maurice, who became Lord Mayor of London), born at Guildford in Surrey of humble parents. Their father was a cloth-worker, and, with his wife, had been in trouble during the Marian persecutions. George was educated at the Guildford free school, and at Balliol College, Oxford. He subsequently became Master of University College, and in 1604 was one of the divines appointed to assist in the translation of "King James's Bible." The four Gospels and the Acts were entrusted to Abbot. He was afterwards made chaplain to the Earl of Dunbar, with whom he went to Scotland, and there aided in establishing a union between the Scottish and English Churches. The King was greatly pleased with his conduct on this occasion, and in 1609 made him Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Within a month he was translated to London, and on the death of Bancroft, in Nov. 1610, Abbot was raised to the primacy.

As Archbishop, Abbot displayed a very different temper from that of his predecessor. He "connived to a limited extent at some irregularities of discipline in the Puritanical clergy, judging, not absurdly, that their scruples at a few ceremonies, which had been aggravated by a vexatious rigour, would die away by degrees . . . His hatred to Popery and zeal for Calvinism, which undoubtedly were narrow and intolerant, as well as his avowed disapprobation of those Churchmen who preached up arbitrary power, gained for this prelate the favour of the party denominated Puritan." For these reasons, as well as for his integrity, which is admitted on all sides, Abbot was obnoxious to the courtiers, as well as to theologians of the school of Laud; and when, in 1621, during a visit to Lord Zouch at Bramshill in Hampshire, the Archbishop accidentally killed a keeper with a barbed arrow,—“a great perplexity to the

\* Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. viii.

good man, and a heavy knell to his aged spirit;”—it was not without considerable discussion, nor until after a temporary retirement in the hospital which he had founded at Guildford, that he was restored to his archiepiscopal functions. In 1627 Abbot refused to license a sermon preached by Dr. Sibthorpe, affirming the King's right to tax his subjects without their consent, and was compelled, by the influence of the Duke of Buckingham, to withdraw to his palace of Ford, near Canterbury. He was soon recalled, but never rose high in the favour of Charles I., at whose coronation he had assisted together with Laud. Archbishop Abbot died at Croydon August 5, 1633, and was buried in the church of the Holy Trinity at Guildford, where his elaborate tomb and effigy still remain.

The “morose manners and very sour countenance” of Abbot are insisted on by Clarendon. “Gravity,” says Fuller, speaking of the brothers, “did frown in George and smile in Robert.” At Guildford he founded a stately hospital for twelve brethren and eight sisters, on the gates and windows of which the three golden pears on his shield, and the motto “*Clamamus Abba pater*,”—referring to his name,—may still be admired. In the chapel is his portrait.

[A.D. 1633—1645.—CHARLES I.] WILLIAM LAUD, the famous successor of Abbot, was born at Reading in 1573. His father was a wealthy clothier, and the future archbishop was educated at the free school of his native town, and at St. John's, Oxford, of which college he became a Fellow. At the University he early distinguished himself by his strong opposition to the Puritans, and by his support of that peculiar school of theology with which his name has ever since been connected. Laud's first patrons were Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, and Richard Neile, Bishop of Rochester, the latter of whom supported him against the ill-will of Archbishop Abbot, who endeavoured

\* Fuller.

to prevent the confirmation of his election as President of St. John's. James I., however, on Bishop Neile's representation, confirmed his election (May 1611), and made him one of his chaplains. In 1616 Laud became Dean of Gloucester, and attended the King to Scotland in the following year, when fresh attempts were made to assimilate the Churches of the two kingdoms. In 1620 Laud was made Bishop of St. David's, and resigned the Presidentship of his college in consequence. He still held, however, many livings which from time to time had been bestowed upon him, from each of which he gave twelve poor persons a constant allowance. In 1622 he held his well-known conference with Fisher the Jesuit, before the Duke of Buckingham and his mother, both of whom were, or at least professed to be, inclined to Romanism. From this time Buckingham became one of Laud's special patrons, and after the coronation of Charles I. (Feb. 2, 1624), at which Laud acted as Dean of Westminster, in room of Williams, then in disgrace, the influence of Laud became all-powerful at Court.

In 1626 Laud was translated from St. David's to Bath and Wells, and thence in 1628 to London. He had already been made Dean of the Chapel Royal, and a member of the Privy Council. In 1630 he was elected Chancellor of Oxford. In 1633 he accompanied Charles I. to Scotland, and was sworn a Privy Councillor of that kingdom. On the death of Abbot, in the same year, he was elevated to the Primacy. It is said that on the morning of his appointment (Aug. 4) an offer of a Cardinal's hat reached him from Rome, and was subsequently repeated. On both occasions he declared "that he could not suffer that till Rome were other than it is."

The career of Laud as Archbishop belongs so completely to the history of his time that it need not be detailed here. The prosecutions for nonconformity were revived with the utmost strictness; new ecclesiastical ceremonies, especially

distasteful to the Calvinistic party, were introduced ; and all possible means were used for silencing the opposite party. The severities of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, which were laid to the charge of the Archbishop, contributed not a little toward the outbreak of the rebellion. Laud, who had never been popular, became utterly hated, not only by the whole body of the Puritans, but by many of the English nobility, and by the entire Scottish nation. In May, 1639, a body of 5,000 apprentices attacked his palace at Lambeth, but the Archbishop had removed to Whitehall, and thus escaped their violence. In the Parliament of 1640 a committee was appointed to enquire into all his actions, and he was impeached of high treason. On the first of March, 1642, he was conveyed to the Tower to be "kept safe" until the articles against him should be proved.

In the Tower the unfortunate Archbishop remained until January 1643. Various charges were brought against him from time to time, and numerous fines were imposed on him. Before the end of 1641 the rents and profits of the archbishopric were sequestered by the Lords for the use of the Commonwealth. In 1643 his furniture and books at Lambeth were seized, sold, or destroyed. In March, 1643, his trial, which lasted twenty days, commenced. No charge of high treason could be legally established, and a bill of attainder was at length passed (January 1643). On the tenth of that month, Laud, now aged 71, was beheaded on Tower Hill. He was interred in the church of All Hallows, Barking, London ; but after the Restoration his remains were removed to the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford.

The conduct of Archbishop Laud has of course been very differently judged by different parties, and probably, like the civil war itself, will always remain a disputed question. The decision of Lord Macaulay, that he was "a poor creature, who never did, said, or wrote anything indicating

more than the ordinary capacity of an old woman," and the assertion of Clarendon, that "his learning, piety, and virtue have been attained by very few, whilst the greatest of his infirmities are common to all, even to the best of men," need neither of them perhaps be received as final. At Oxford, Laud built the greater part of the inner quadrangle of St. John's, and gave to the University a large collection of very important MSS. in various languages.

The archiepiscopal palace at Canterbury was pillaged and fell into a ruined state under the Puritan rule, and on the Restoration an act was passed dispensing the Archbishops from restoring it. From this time they have had no official residence in Canterbury.

[A.D. 1660—1663—CHARLES II.] WILLIAM JUXON, best remembered from his having attended Charles I. on the scaffold, was born at Chichester, and educated at St. John's College, Oxford, where he attracted the notice of Archbishop Laud. In the year 1621 he became President of St. John's, and was made successively Dean of Worcester, Clerk of the Closet to Charles I., Bishop of Hereford, and in October, 1633, Bishop of London. In 1635, by the interest of the Archbishop, Juxon was made Lord Treasurer, a dignity which no Churchman had held since the reign of Henry VII., "and a troublesome place in those times," says Fuller, "it being expected that he should make much brick, though not altogether without, yet with very little, straw allowed unto him<sup>1</sup>." The appointment gave much offence, yet "Juxon redeemed the scandal of it by an unblemished probity, and gave so little offence in this invidious greatness, that the Long Parliament never attacked him, and he remained in his palace at Fulham without molestation till 1647<sup>2</sup>." This is the last instance in which any one of the great offices of state has been filled by a Churchman.

<sup>1</sup> Fuller, Worthies—Sussex.

<sup>2</sup> Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. viii. (note.)

"It was not the least part of this prelate's honour," says Fuller, "that among the many worthy bishops of our land, King Charles the First selected him for his confessor at his martyrdom. He formerly had had experience, in the case of the Earl of Strafford, that this bishop's conscience was bottomed on piety, not policy; the reason that from him he received the Sacrament, good comfort, and counsell, just before he was murdered\*." It was to Juxon that the King delivered his George on the scaffold, with the mysterious word, "Remember." On the Restoration Juxon became Archbishop of Canterbury (Sept. 1660), and died three years afterwards (June 1663). He was buried in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford.

[A.D. 1663—1677—CHARLES II.] GILBERT SHELDON, born of a good Staffordshire family, was educated at Oxford, where he became Fellow and Warden of All Souls' College. He was a warm supporter of the King during the civil war, and was one of the royal chaplains sent for to attend the commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge. When the Parliamentary commissioners visited Oxford, Sheldon was deprived of his Wardenship, and, together with Dr. Hammond, imprisoned for six months. The reforming committee, however, set him at liberty on condition that he should never come within five miles of Oxford, and that he should not go to the King in the Isle of Wight. Sheldon retired accordingly into Derbyshire, where he remained until the Restoration. He then recovered his Wardenship, was made Master of the Savoy and Dean of the Chapel Royal (in which capacity he preached before the King at Whitehall on the day of solemn thanksgiving, June 28, 1660), and on Juxon's translation to Canterbury became Bishop of London (October 1660). In the following year Sheldon assisted at the Savoy conference—so called from its having been held at his lodgings in the Savoy hospital,—in which the whole question of the Liturgy was discussed

\* Fuller, Worthies—Sussex.

between the Presbyterian and Episcopal divines. In 1663 he succeeded Juxon in the primacy, and in 1667 was elected Chancellor of Oxford, in the room of Clarendon. He had already given £1,000 toward the building of the Theatre at Oxford, and finding that no other contributors came forward, he took on himself the whole expense of its erection, amounting to about £14,000. The Sheldonian Theatre is an early work of Sir Christopher Wren. Within it is a portrait of the Archbishop, and his statue appears on the exterior.

Archbishop Sheldon gave much offence at Court by his open condemnation of the King's manner of life; and in 1669 he retired to his palace at Croydon, where he spent the greater part of his time until his death in 1677. He was buried in the parish church of Croydon, where his tomb, with effigy, still remains.

[A.D. 1678—deprived 1691—CHARLES II., JAMES II., WILLIAM AND MARY.] WILLIAM SANCROFT was born at Fressingfield in Suffolk, in 1616, and educated at St. Edmundsbury and at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Emmanuel College. He lost his fellowship in 1649 when he refused to take the "engagement," and remained on the Continent until the restoration of Charles II. He then returned to England and became chaplain to Bishop Cosin, who, in the Convocation of 1660, was one of the bishops appointed for the revision of the Prayer-book. In this final revision of the Common Prayer, Sancroft took a very active part, and he was chosen by the Convocation to superintend the printing of the book<sup>y</sup>. In 1662 he became Master of Emmanuel College, and after holding in succession the deaneries of York and St. Paul's (toward the rebuilding of which latter cathedral he greatly assisted), and the archdeaconry of Canterbury, he was raised to the primacy by Charles II. in January 1674. He attended the

<sup>y</sup> See Procter's Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 136—138.

deathbed of that king, on which occasion he is said to have used "great freedom." His conduct throughout the reign of James has been amply commented upon in the pages of Macaulay. He was at the head of the bishops who presented the famous petition to the King in 1688, and with them was committed to the Tower, tried, and acquitted. In the subsequent revolution Burnet declares that "he acted a very mean part," resolving "neither to act for nor against the King's [William's] interest, which, considering his high post, was thought very unbecoming." The Archbishop declined, however, to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary after they were settled on the throne, conceiving himself still bound by his former oath to James II. He and eight other bishops were accordingly suspended (Aug. 1, 1689), and deprived (Feb. 1, 1689). But Archbishop Sancroft would not leave Lambeth until ejected by law, when he retired to Fresingfield, his birthplace, where he had an estate of £50 a-year, which had been in the possession of his ancestors for three centuries. Here he died, Nov. 24, 1693, and was buried in Fresingfield churchyard.

[A.D. 1691—1694—WILLIAM AND MARY.] JOHN TILLOTSON was born at Sowerby in Yorkshire, in Oct. 1630. His parents were decided Puritans, but their son was educated at Cambridge, where he reckoned among his friends Cudworth, More, and Wilkins, the eccentric bishop of Chester. Tillotson had embraced the doctrines of the Presbyterians during the Protectorate, but on the Restoration submitted to the Act of Uniformity, and became curate of Cheshunt in Herts. In 1663 he was presented to the rectory of Kedington in Suffolk, which he resigned soon afterwards on being chosen Preacher at Lincoln's Inn. In the following year he was appointed Lecturer at St. Lawrence, Jewry. His great reputation as a preacher was already established when in 1670 he was made a Prebendary of Canterbury, of which cathedral in 1672 he became Dean. After the Revo-

lution Tillotson was admitted to the most intimate confidence both of William and Mary. In Sept., 1689, he was made Dean of St. Paul's, and after Sancroft's deprivation was consecrated Archbishop, May 31, 1691. He accepted the primacy with very great reluctance, and held it little more than three years, dying at Lambeth Nov. 24, 1694. He was buried in the church of St. Lawrence, Jewry, where his most celebrated sermons had been preached.

As a theologian, Tillotson was undoubtedly one of the most latitudinarian of his time. "As a preacher, he was thought by his contemporaries to have surpassed all rivals living or dead. Posterity has reversed this judgment. Yet Tillotson still keeps his place as a legitimate English classic. His highest flights were indeed far below those of Taylor, of Barrow, and of South; but his oratory was more correct and equable than theirs. . . . His reasoning was just sufficiently profound and sufficiently refined to be followed by a popular audience with that slight degree of intellectual exertion which is a pleasure . . . . The greatest charm of his compositions is derived from the benignity and candour which appear in every line, and which shone forth not less conspicuously in his life than in his writings."

There is a portrait of Archbishop Tillotson in the gallery at Lambeth. "He was the first prelate," says Lysons, "who wore a wig, which was then not unlike the natural hair, and worn without powder." The best and fullest account of Tillotson will be found in his *Life* by Dr. Birch.

[A.D. 1695—1715—WILLIAM AND MARY, ANNE.] THOMAS TENISON was born at Cottenham in Cambridgeshire in 1636, and educated at Cambridge. After becoming eminent as a preacher in London, he was made Archdeacon of

\* Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.*, iii. 469. Tillotson's MS. sermons were purchased after his death "for the almost incredible sum of 2,500 guineas, equivalent, in the wretched state in which the silver coin then was, to at least £3,600. Such a price had never before been given in England for any copyright."—*Macaulay*, iv. p. 525.

London by King William, who raised him to the see of Lincoln in 1691, and on the death of Tillotson translated him to Canterbury. The choice was generally approved. "Dr. Tenison," says Kennet, "had been exemplary in every station of his life, had restored a neglected large diocese to some discipline and good order, and had before, in the office of a parochial minister, done as much good as perhaps was possible for any one man to do\*."

Archbishop Tenison died at Lambeth Dec. 14, 1715, and was buried in the parish church there.

[A.D. 1716—1737—GEORGE I., GEORGE II.] WILLIAM WAKE, born in Dorsetshire in 1657, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford, became Dean of Exeter in 1700, Bishop of Lincoln in 1705, and in 1715 Archbishop of Canterbury. Wake was a prelate of considerable learning, and took an active part in the controversy with Atterbury concerning the rights of Convocation, besides publishing many theological works, some of which are still of importance. He died at Lambeth Jan. 24, 1737, and was buried in the parish church of Croydon.

[A.D. 1737—1747.—GEORGE II.] JOHN POTTER, son of a linen-draper at Wakefield in Yorkshire, was educated at University College, Oxford, but afterwards became Fellow of Lincoln. In 1697 he published at Oxford an edition of *Lycophron*, and in that and the following year appeared his well-known "Antiquities of Greece," to which Gronovius gave a place in the twelfth volume of his *Thesaurus Antiq. Græcar.*, published in 1702. In 1715 Potter was made Bishop of Oxford, and was elevated to the primacy in 1737. "He was," says one of his biographers, "a learned and exemplary divine, but of a character by no means amiable, being strongly tinctured with a kind of haughtiness and severity of manners." He died in 1747, and was buried in the parish church at Croydon.

[A.D. 1747—1757—GEORGE II.] THOMAS HERRING was translated to Canterbury from York. He died at Croydon,

\* Hist. of England.

where he had lived in complete retirement for more than four years before his death, having never recovered from a fever which attacked him in 1753. He was buried in the parish church there, and was the last archbishop who resided in the archiepiscopal palace at Croydon.

[A.D. 1757—1758—GEORGE II.] MATTHEW HUTTON, translated from York like his predecessor, was buried in the parish church of Lambeth. His portrait by Hudson is in the Lambeth gallery.

[A.D. 1758—1768—GEORGE II., GEORGE III.] THOMAS SECKER was born in 1693, of dissenting parents, at Sibthorpe, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire. He early became acquainted, however, with Butler, afterwards the famous Bishop of Durham, by whose persuasion, and by that of Dr. Benson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, he joined the Church of England, abandoned the study of medicine which he had proposed to himself, and took Holy Orders. Secker rapidly passed through many stations, was consecrated Bishop of Bristol in 1734, and translated to Oxford in 1737. His great talents, and his high reputation for piety and beneficence, recommended him for the primacy on the death of Hutton. He was consecrated accordingly in April 1758. He died at Lambeth in 1768, and was buried, as he had himself desired, "in the passage from the garden door of his palace to the north door of the parish church at Lambeth." By his will he left considerable sums to different charitable institutions. His portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is at Lambeth.

[A.D. 1768—1783—GEORGE III.] FREDERICK CORNWALLIS.

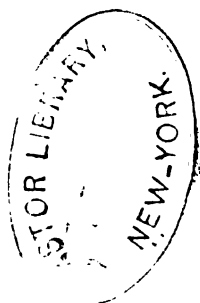
[A.D. 1783—1805—GEORGE III.] JOHN MOORE.

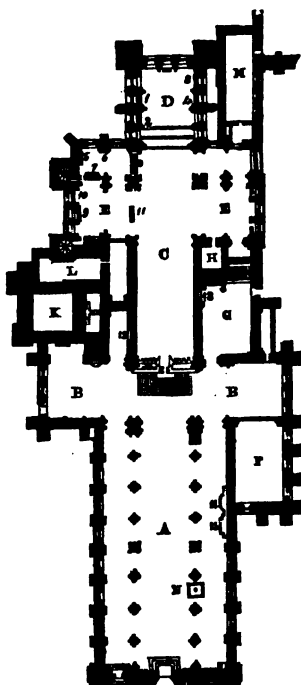
[A.D. 1805—1828—GEORGE III., GEORGE IV.] CHARLES MANNERS-SUTTON.

[A.D. 1828—1848—GEORGE IV., WILLIAM IV., VICTORIA.] WILLIAM HOWLEY.

[A.D. 1848—VICTORIA.] JOHN BIRD SUMNER.







# REFERENCES.

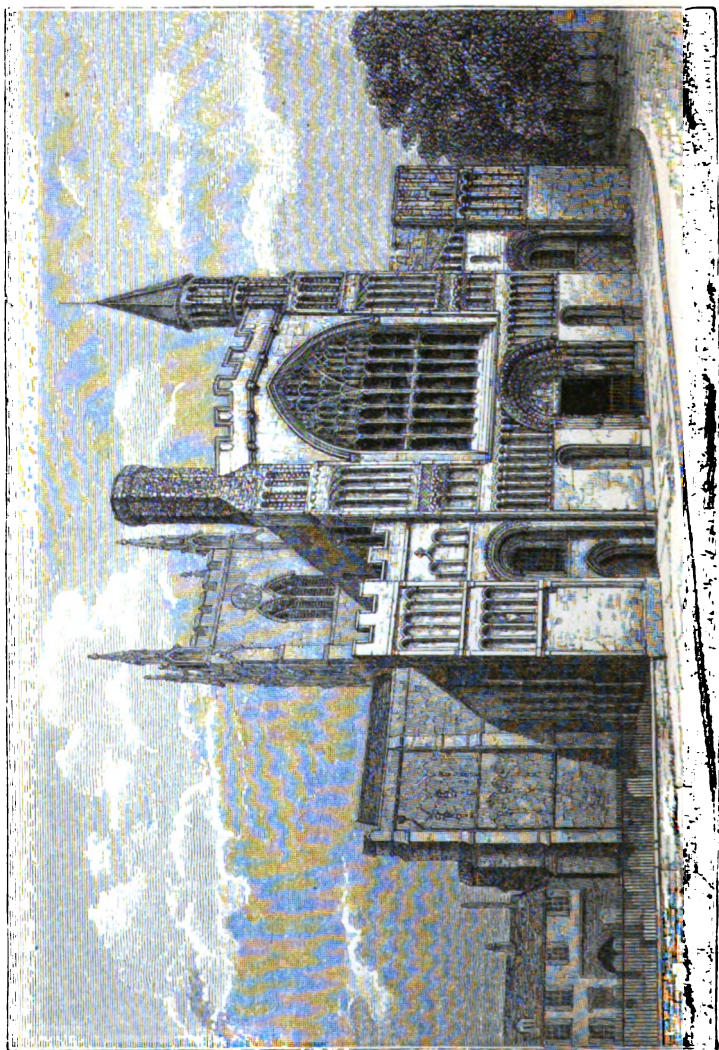
- A Nave.
- B B Great, or Western Transept.
- C Choir.
- D Chancel or Sacristy.
- E E Eastern Transept.
- F Chapel of St. Mary.
- G St. Edmund's Chapel.
- H Vestry.
- I Stairs to Crypt.
- K Gundulf's Tower.
- L Yard.
- M Chapter-house.
- N Font.

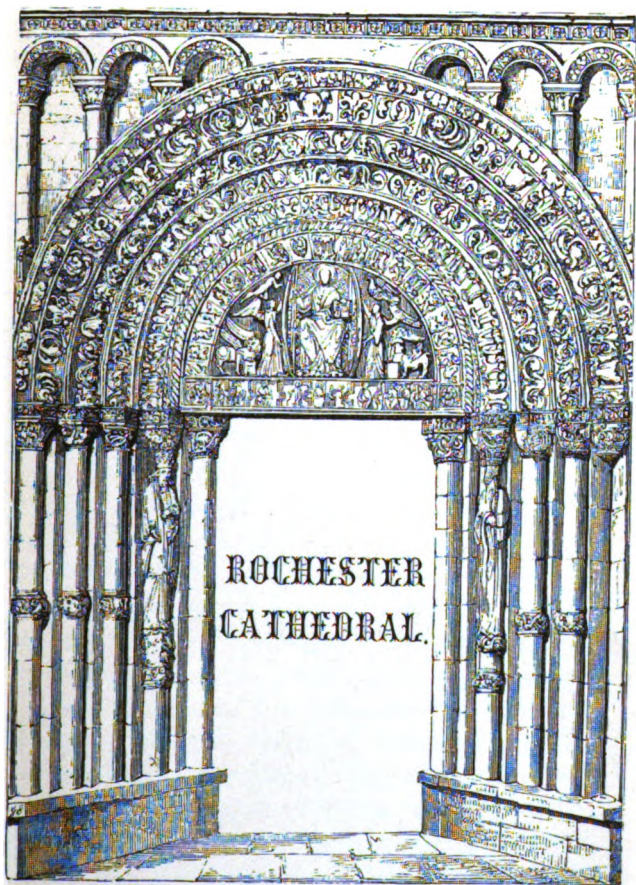
- 1 Tomb of Bp. Lawrence.
- 2 Tomb of Bp. Gilbert de Glanville.
- 3 Tomb of Bp. Gundulf.
- 4 Tomb of Bp. Inglethorpe.
- 5, 6, 7. Tombs of the Le Warner family.
- 8 Tomb of Bp. John de Sheppey.
- 9 Tomb of Bp. Walter de Merton.
- 10 Tomb of Bp. St. William.
- 11 Tomb of Bp. Lowe.
- 12 Tomb of Bp. Hamo de Hythe.
- 13 Tomb of Bp. John de Bradfeld.
- 14, 15. Monuments of Lord and Lady Henniker.



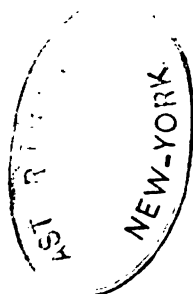
ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.





WEST DOORWAY.



# ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

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## PART I.

### History and Details.

I. THE Saxon cathedral of Rochester (see Part II.)—the first outpost advanced by Augustine beyond Canterbury—suffered much from Danish ravages; and, like Canterbury, was in a completely ruined condition at the time of the Norman Conquest. So it continued until Gundulf, the friend of Archbishop Lanfranc, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester in 1077. He proceeded to rebuild his cathedral and the priory connected with it. In this he established, as Lanfranc had done at Canterbury, a colony of Benedictine monks in place of the secular clergy. Ernulf, Prior of Canterbury, succeeded Gundulf in the see of Rochester, and built the dormitory, chapter-house, and refectory: but it was not until five years after his death, and during the episcopate of John of Canterbury, that the new cathedral was dedicated (1130) in presence of the king and a great company of bishops. In this Norman church were displayed the shrines of St. Paulinus, third bishop, and of his successor, St. Ithamar (644—655), of Kentish birth, and remarkable as the first native bishop of the Saxon Church.

II. The cathedral was greatly injured by fire (*combusta est*, says the Chronicle,) in 1138, and again in 1177. Richard de Ross, who became prior in 1199, and his successor Helias, constructed new roofs and covered them with lead. The chroniclers of Rochester have not recorded the building of the great transept, which is, however, Early English, and cannot be much later than 1200.

In 1201 St. William of Perth was killed near Rochester, and buried in the cathedral, (see § x.) Numerous miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb, which became at once an important place of pilgrimage; and William de Hoo, the Sacrist, built the choir with its aisles (the whole church east of the great transept) with the offerings at St. William's tomb. The choir was first used in 1227. In 1239, William de Hoo, its builder, became prior; and in the following year (1240) the cathedral was solemnly consecrated by Richard de Wendover, Bishop of Rochester, and Richard, Bishop of Bangor\*. Bishop Haymo de Hythe (1319—1352) gave large sums for repairing the church, and raised the "campanile," or bell-tower, in which he placed four bells, named Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar, and Lanfranc. From these dates it will be seen that the cathedral consists almost entirely of *Norman* (nave and crypt) and *Early English* (choir and transepts) portions.

\* A decree of the Council of London, convened in 1237 by Cardinal Otho, legate of Pope Gregory IX., had ordered that all churches and cathedrals "not having been consecrated with holy oil, though built of old," should be dedicated within two years.

There are, however, some very good examples of Decorated in the choir windows, which are later insertions; and the doorway of the chapter-house, also of this period, is especially remarkable.

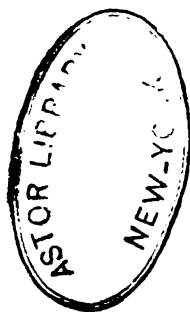
III. The cathedral suffered much in 1264, when the castle of Rochester was besieged by Simon de Montfort, whose troops, like the Northmen before them, and the Puritan soldiers afterwards, turned the nave into a stable. (See Pt. II., Bishop Lawrence de St. Martin.) The stained glass seems to have disappeared at the Dissolution, since Archbishop Laud, in 1633, complains that the building had received great injury from the want of glass in the windows. After the retreat of the Commonwealth troops the nave was long used as a carpenter's shop, and "several saw-pits were dug in it." At this time all the brasses were destroyed, in which, as their traces still prove, the church was very rich.

IV. An excellent bird's-eye view of the cathedral may be obtained from the upper story of Rochester Castle, which stands on much higher ground. The cathedral is so completely enclosed that no good general point of view can be found below.

The *west front* [Frontispiece], with the exception of the great Perpendicular window, belongs to the Norman period from Gundulf to Bishop John (1077—1130). It consists of a centre flanked by turrets; and of two wings, terminating the nave-aisles, and of somewhat later date than the centre. These wings—the lofty arches in which may be compared with the Norman

portions of the west front of Lincoln—were formerly capped by turrets, which have disappeared. The turret on the south side of the central gable is original; that on the north is Perpendicular, of the same date as the window and the gable above it. The entire front resembles, in general character, the Norman fragments of Malling Abbey, near Maidstone,—also attributed to Gundulf. Its only very striking portion, however, is the *central doorway* [Title-page], a very fine specimen of elaborate Norman. “It must be considered rather as a Continental than as an English design. Had it been executed by native artists, we should not entirely miss the billet-moulding, which was so favourite a mode of decoration with all the nations of the North<sup>b</sup>.” The billet-moulding does occur, however, on the inside of the door, both in the principal arch and in the arcades; but the general design of the exterior is, beyond a doubt, very un-English. The doorway is formed of five receding arches, with banded shafts at the angles, two of which are carved into figures which probably represent Henry I. and the “good queen Molde.” These statues were much and deservedly praised by Flaxman. The tall slender figures, and the long plaited hair of the Queen, recall the early French statues of the first and second dynasties. In the tympanum is the Saviour within an elongated aureole, supported by two angels, and with the emblems of the four evangelists at the sides. Below are small figures of the apostles, few of which are entire. The capitals of the shafts and the

<sup>b</sup> Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*, p. 852.





NAVE, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

bands of ornament above them are all rich and curious, and well deserve notice. On the front of the northern tower is a small statue, said—but without the least certainty—to represent Gundulf.

V. The *nave* [Plate I.], 150 feet long to the cross of the lantern, is Norman as far as the last two bays eastward. If, as is most probable, it is part of Gundulf's work, it was no doubt a copy of the Norman nave of Canterbury; and we are thus enabled to judge fairly what the appearance of the metropolitan cathedral was in this part of it. Its architecture is plainer than that of the contemporary examples in France, though, owing to its having been always destined for a wooden roof, the piers and the design generally are lighter than where preparation was made for a stone vault<sup>c</sup>. The triforium is richly ornamented; and the arches open to the space above the side-aisles as well as to the nave, a peculiarity which both Rochester and Canterbury may have received from the church of St. Stephen's at Caen, where the same arrangement may still be seen. Lanfranc, the builder of the Norman church at Canterbury, had been Abbot of St. Stephen's. The clerestory windows above, like those of the aisles, are Perpendicular; and the roof seems to have been raised at the time of their insertion. This is of timber, and quite plain.

VI. The *font* is Norman, square, and enriched. In the *south aisle* are monuments for Lord and Lady Henniker (1792—1803), in which Honour and Benevo-

<sup>c</sup> Fergusson, p. 851.

lence, Time and Eternity, play conspicuous parts. East of these monuments is the late Perpendicular *chapel of St. Mary*, recently well restored, but of no great interest. It is said to have been used as the chapel of the infirmary attached to the adjoining priory.

VII. In passing beyond the Norman portion of the nave to the Early English, of which nearly all the rest of the cathedral consists, the strong influence of Canterbury is at once apparent. The double transepts, the numberless shafts of Petworth marble, and perhaps the flights of stairs ascending from either side of the crypt, recall immediately the works of the two Williams in the metropolitical church, which always maintained the closest connection with Rochester, her earliest daughter.

The *western*, or *nave transepts*, are both Early English, differing, however, in detail, the north transept being much richer than the south, which is possibly a few years later, and underwent some alteration during the building of the Perpendicular chapel of St. Mary. The corbels of the *north* transept, nearly all monastic heads, are of unusual excellence; and the whole arrangement here is very rich and varied. In the lower range of lancets a memorial window for Archdeacon Walker King—thirty-two years Archdeacon of Rochester—has lately (1860) been fixed by Messrs. Clayton and Bell. The central lancet displays the figure of our Saviour. Beneath, is the trial of St. Stephen at the moment of his vision. In the side lancets are St. Stephen and St. Philip the deacon; and in the predellas beneath

them the ordination of St. Philip and the stoning of St. Stephen. In the *south* transept remark the monument of RICHARD WATTS of Satis,—whose hospital, founded in 1579 for the entertainment of six poor travellers for one night, “provided they are not rogues nor proctors,” still remains in the High-street. The coloured bust of the monument, “starting out of it, like a ship’s figure-head,” is said to have been taken from the life.

VIII. Remark the banded shafts of marble that cluster about the tower-piers. The wooden roof below the tower, with its grotesque ornaments, dates from 1840, but can hardly be commended. No defence whatever can be made for the miserable festoons of drapery still permitted to degrade the great choir-arch above the organ. The want of stained glass, which is felt throughout the cathedral, is most evident at this central point, from which the east and west windows are both visible.

IX. The *choir* itself, which underwent a complete remodelling between the years 1825—1830, under the direction of Mr. Cottingham, is entered by a flight of steps, rendered necessary, as at Canterbury, by the height of the crypt below. It was completed sufficiently for use in 1227, in which year (that of the accession of Bishop Henry de Sandford) Edmund de Hadenham, one of the Rochester Benedictines, commemorates the “<sup>d</sup> Introitus in novum Chorum Roffen-

<sup>d</sup> Ang. Sac., i. 347.

sem." It is thoroughly developed Early English, although much has evidently been borrowed, even in detail, from the Canterbury transition work (1174—1184). It is narrow, and somewhat heavy; defects not lightened by the wood-work of the stalls, which is indifferent, or by the use of colour; a single line of which, however, is carried along the ribs of the vaulting with very good effect.

The *brackets* of Early English foliage from which the blind wall-arches spring, should be noticed. Two large ones especially, at the angles of the eastern transept, are excellent specimens of this period, before the naturalism of the Decorated had begun to develope itself. A fragment of mural painting, apparently of the same date as the choir itself, remains on the wall, close above the pulpit. The painting, when entire, is said to have represented a subject not uncommon in early churches,—the wheel of Fortune, with various figures—king, priest, husbandman, and others—climbing it.

X. Passing into the *north choir-transept*, still Early English, and a part of William de Hoo's work, the first point of interest is *St. William's tomb*, at the north-east corner. It is of Purbeck marble, with a floriated cross; and there are considerable remains of ornamental painting in the recess of the arch above. The date of the tomb is not clear; but is certainly later than the beginning of the thirteenth century, to which time the legend of St. William belongs. He is said to have been a Scottish baker, from Perth, who was in the habit of giving every tenth loaf to the poor, and who

had undertaken a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, intending to visit the Canterbury shrine on his way. On the Watling Street, however, a short distance beyond Chatham, he fell in with thieves, always on the lookout for wealthy pilgrims; and his murdered body was brought back and solemnly interred in Rochester Cathedral. Numerous miracles were wrought at his tomb; and the shrine of St. William, borrowing a reflected glory from that of Becket, to which the pilgrim was bound, speedily eclipsed in reputation, and in the number of votaries it attracted, that of St. Paulinus, which had hitherto been the great pride of Rochester. Toward the centre of the transept is a flat stone marked with six crosses, upon which St. William's shrine is said to have rested. The steps which descend into the north aisle of the choir, are, as at Canterbury, deeply worn by the constant ascent of pilgrims, with whose oblations Prior William de Hoo (1239) built the church east of the transepts. St. William was duly canonized in 1256. His death occurred in 1201.

XI. West of St. William's tomb is that of Bishop WALTER DE MERTON (1274—1277; see Pt. II.) This tomb, which is very beautiful early Decorated, was well and carefully restored at the expense of Merton College, in the year 1852. The slab, with its cross, is entirely modern, the original brass, of Limoges work (which cost, according to Warton, £67 14s. 6d.) having been defaced in the reign of Edward VI. This was replaced in 1598 by the alabaster effigy which now occupies the adjoining recess. The stained glass in the windows

was inserted at the expense of Merton College, when the tomb was restored in 1852.

Against the opposite wall is the plain altar-tomb of Bishop LOWE (1444—1467).

XII. The space between the north-east and north-west transepts is partly occupied by *Gundulf's tower*, best seen, however, from the exterior. It is Norman, and was perhaps built as the record tower and treasury of Gundulf's cathedral. (Compare St. Andrew's tower, Canterbury, the date and position of which are nearly the same.) The walls are six feet thick, and the tower seems to have contained two chambers, each about twenty-four feet square. It has been suggested that the original entrance was from the top. In the south-west angle of the north-east transept is a newel stair, from the top of which an arch is thrown to the summit of the tower, across an open space of ten feet. This arrangement, evidently intended for the security and defence of the record tower, is curious and unusual. There are at present two narrow entrances into the church from the south side of the tower, of later date, however, if the above suggestion be correct.

XIII. In the *eastern aisle* of the *north-east transept* are the tombs of Bishop WARNER (1638—1666), and of Archdeacon WARNER (1679). Under an arch dividing this chapel from the choir, is the very interesting monument of Bishop JOHN DE SHEPPEY (1353—1360), probably the most perfect specimen of ancient colouring now existing in England. It had been bricked up within the arch where it still remains, and was dis-

covered during the repairs in 1825. The colours and ornaments deserve the most careful attention, as well for their own beauty as for their great value as authorities. In the maniple, hung over the left arm, some of the crystals with which it was studded still remain. Remark the couchant dogs at the feet. About their necks are scarlet collars, hung with bells. An inscription, with the Bishop's name, surrounds the effigy. An iron railing of the same date, with his initials, J. S., has been brought from another part of the cathedral, and placed in front of the monument. The large branching finials are good.

XIV. The short *sacrarium*, or chancel, east of the transepts, probably formed part of William de Hoo's work, although it has undergone considerable alterations; the last "restoration" having taken place between 1825 and 1830, under the direction of Mr. Cottingham, when the windows at the east end, which had hitherto been concealed by an altar-screen, were uncovered and renewed. They are Decorated, and exhibit an arrangement of great beauty and interest. The other windows, also Decorated, were renewed at the same time. The chancel walls are, however, Early English, and perhaps the original work of Prior de Hoo. The stone vaulting, both of chancel and choir, is of Early English date, and although considerably later, should be compared with that of Canterbury. During Mr. Cottingham's restoration the walls were scraped and pointed, an operation which has by no means rendered their appearance more venerable. The

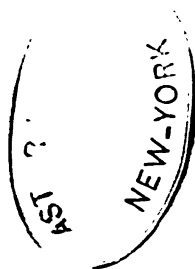
shrine of St. Paulinus, which here seems to have taken the place usually assigned to the altar of the Virgin, is thought to have occupied a central position, immediately between the east walls of the transepts.

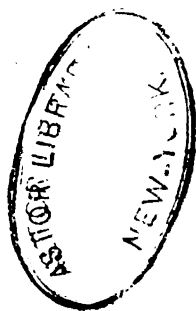
XV. The monuments in the sacrarium are (beginning at the north-west corner)—Bishop GILBERT DE GLANVILLE (1185—1214) [Plate II.], shrine-shaped, with medallions containing mitred heads on the sloping cover, which has apparently been broken to pieces, and restored in a very rough manner. The medallions toward the west end seem to have been filled with some kind of mortar or cement. The side of the tomb should be especially noticed. The foliage in the arches is an evident imitation of a classic form, while that in the spandrels more resembles Early English. The arches themselves are of transition character. It is perhaps questionable whether this remarkable monument is not of earlier date than the Bishop to whom it has been assigned; nor is it quite certain that the side and the sloping cover originally formed parts of the same tomb. East is the monument of Bishop LAWRENCE DE ST. MARTIN (1251—1274). The richly wrought canopy above the effigy is an excellent specimen of early Decorated. It was this bishop who procured the canonization of St. William. In the north wall beyond, an unusual position, is an early Decorated piscina.

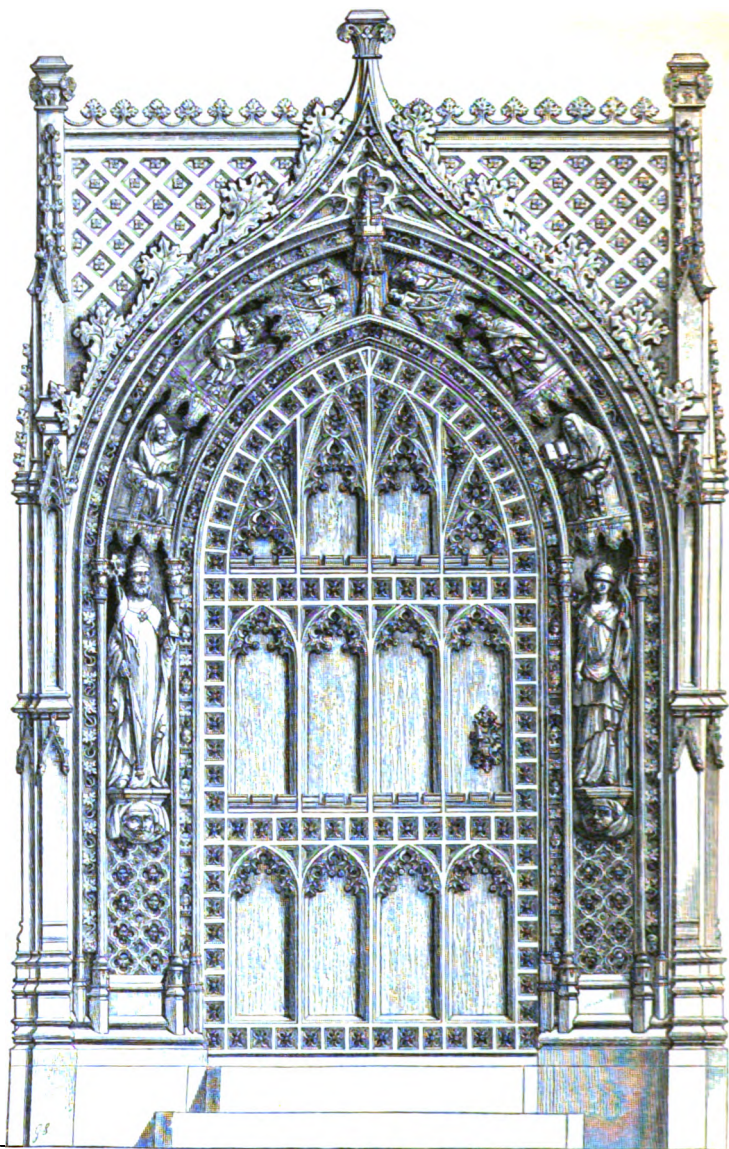
On the *south* side of the sacrarium, next the altar, is a tomb of plain marble, which has been called that of Bishop GUNDULF (1077—1108), the builder of the Norman portion of the cathedral. It is without mark



BISHOP GLANVILLE'S TOMB,







DOOR OF CHAPTER-HOUSE.

or inscription. Beyond, is the monument, with effigy, of Bishop INGLETHORPE (1283—1291). In the wall below are three sedilia of Decorated character, restored in 1825.

XVI. In the east wall of the south choir-transept is one of the great glories of the cathedral—the *chapter-house doorway* [Plate III.], of which a cast, very questionably coloured, may be seen in the Palace at Sydenham. It is late Decorated work, and is said to have been erected during the episcopate of Bishop Haymo de Hythe (1319—1352). It was restored by Mr. Cottingham in 1830. The principal figures on either side represent the Jewish Church, leaning on a broken reed, blind-folded, and holding in her right hand the upturned tables of the Law; and the Christian Church, a grave bishop, standing erect, with cathedral and crozier. The other figures have been variously explained. The four lower ones, seated, probably represent the four doctors of the Church—Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory the Great. Above, on either side, appear angels, rising from what seem to be purgatorial flames, and praying for the “pure soul” represented by the small naked figure at the point of the arch. If the meaning is obscure, the work is of great excellence, and deserves careful notice. The oaken door within the arch is modern.

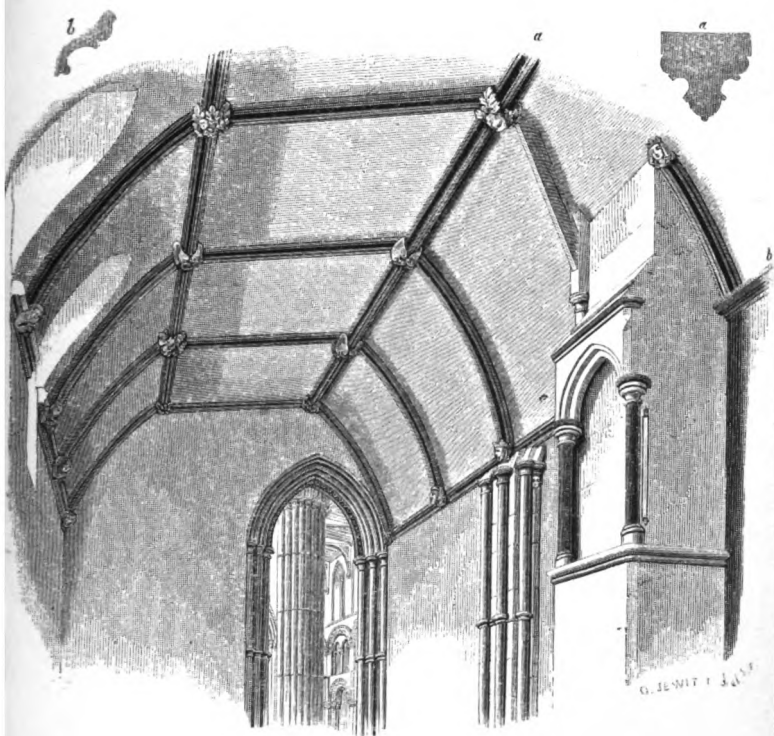
The chapter-house, into which this door opens, is a modern addition, and serves as the *library* of the cathedral. Here is preserved the MS. of the *Textus Roffensis*, a collection of records, gifts, and ancient

privileges of the Church of Rochester, compiled under the direction of Bishop Ernulf (1115—1124). This venerable manuscript has undergone considerable perils, having at one time been stolen, and only restored to the Chapter by the aid of a decree in Chancery; and on another occasion having fallen into the Thames, from whence it was rescued with no small difficulty. The *Custumale Roffense*, a MS. of not less importance, is also preserved here.

Under the transept window adjoining the chapter-house is an unknown tomb, marked with a cross. The destruction of the original chapter-house has here thrown the shafts much out of the perpendicular. Remark the horizontal oaken roof, *temp.* Edward I., studded with corbel-heads and bosses. [Plate IV.] The foliage of the latter should be noticed, especially the use of the graceful leaves of the water-lily, at that time no doubt frequent in the Medway. The roof is perhaps unique, and certainly the most valuable instance of the kind in England.

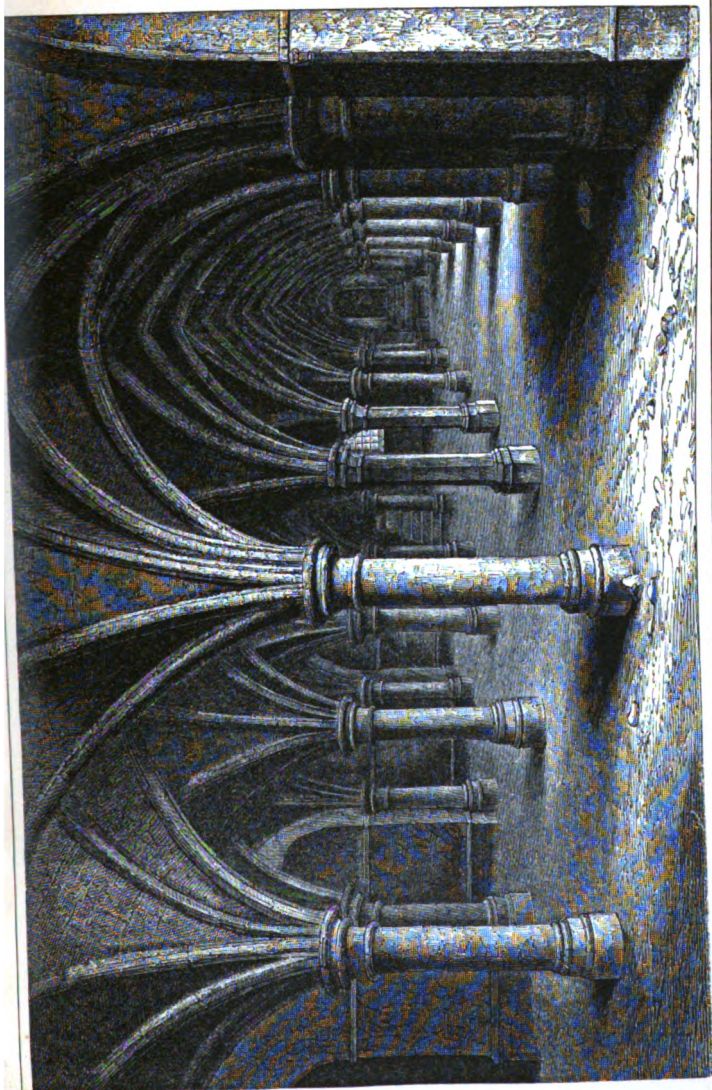
XVII. A steep flight of stairs, strongly recalling Canterbury, leads from this transept to the chapel called *St. Edmund's*, south of the choir. The defaced effigy in the north wall is supposed to be that of Bishop JOHN DE BRADFIELD (1278—1283).

XVIII. From *St. Edmund's Chapel* a flight of steps descends into the *crypt* [Plate V.], which extends under the whole of the choir, and is one of the best specimens of its class to be found in England. The west and east parts are evidently of a much earlier date

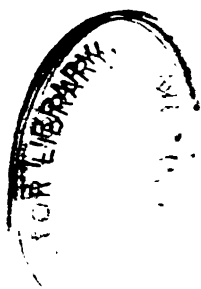


ROOF OF SOUTH-EAST TRANSEPT.

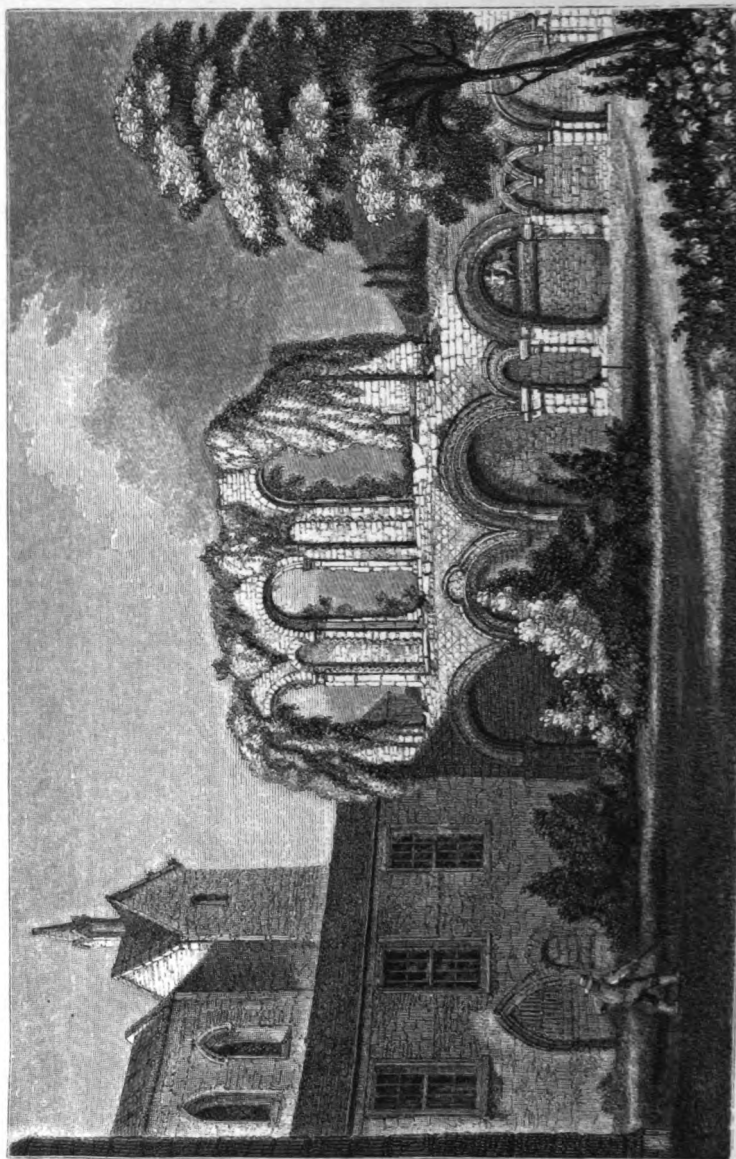




THE CRYPT.



NEW-YORK



than the central, which is Early English, and of the same period as the choir above. In building this, the ancient crypt was probably broken through, and in part reconstructed. The earlier portions are distinguished by very massive piers and circular arches. Between the piers are small pillars, with plain broad capitals. It is not impossible that this part of the crypt may date from before the Conquest. At all events, it is the earliest portion of the existing cathedral, and cannot be later than the work of Bishop Gundulf.

Traces of former altars, and of extensive mural painting, remain in different parts of the crypt. There are no monuments.

XIX. The greater part of the *central tower* of the cathedral dates from 1825, when it was raised under the direction of Mr. Cottingham. It is altogether unsatisfactory. A small portion immediately above the roof is the work of Bishop John de Sheppey (1352).

XX. Of the *priory* of St. Andrew, established in connection with the cathedral by Gundulf, almost the only remains are in the garden of the deanery, where is a small fragment of the cloister wall, supporting some window-arches of the old chapter-house. [Plate VI.] This is all Norman, and the recorded work of Ernulf, Gundulf's successor. The diaper on the wall is also found at Canterbury (where Ernulf was prior before his removal to Rochester, and where he built much), on the wall of the passage leading to the crypt from the Martyrdom transept. The lower arches, now closed, opened into an area below the chapter-house, used as

a place of interment more than usually honourable. The signs of the zodiac enrich the central arch. On a smaller one adjoining are the words "Aries per cornua," the only part of the inscription still legible.

Within the deanery, at the foot of the staircase, is an arcade, very closely resembling that on the exterior of St. Anselm's tower, Canterbury, also the work of Ernulf. The deanery occupies the site of the east end of the chapter-house.

XXI. The ancient episcopal palace stood at the south-east corner of the precincts. Since the Reformation the bishops have resided altogether at Bromley, where, however, their palace, called by Horace Walpole a "paltry parsonage," has ceased to belong to them since the enlargement of the see, and the consequent purchase of Danbury in Essex.

# ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

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## PART II.

### *History of the See, with Short Lives of the principal Bishops.*

**I**N the year 604, shortly before the death of Augustine, and seven years after his first arrival in Thanet, two new bishoprics were established by him, at Rochester and at London. That of London was for the kingdom of the East Saxons; that of Rochester was for the western portion of Kent, which possibly formed a small dependent kingdom whose chief was subject to Ethelbert. Rochester, *Hrof's ceastre*, or castle, commanding the point at which the Watling Street crossed the Medway, was its capital, and formed an excellent centre for the establishment and propagation of the new faith.

[A.D. 604—624.] The first bishop of Rochester was JUSTUS, one of the second company who had been sent from Rome to assist Augustine. Justus was driven from his see for a short time after the relapse of Eadbald, the son of Ethelbert, into paganism (see CANTERBURY, Pt. II.), but was restored after the successful fraud of Laurence, and in 624 was translated to Canterbury, of which see he became third archbishop.

[A.D. 624—656.] Justus was succeeded by ROMANUS, who was drowned in crossing the Channel on his way to Rome. PAULINUS, the first preacher of Christianity among the Angles north of the Humber, after he had been driven from his northern diocese on the death of Edwin in 633, undertook

the government of the Church of Rochester, over which he presided until the year 644. (See YORK for a full notice of him.) ITHAMAR, who succeeded him, and who died in 656, was the first native bishop of the English Church. According to Malmesbury he was inferior to none of his predecessors in learning or in piety. Paulinus and Ithamar, both of whom were revered as saints, were interred in their cathedral church of St. Andrew, which had been built at Rochester on the first institution of the bishopric, by the influence of Ethelbert. Their remains were subsequently enshrined, and until the canonization of St. William in the thirteenth century (Pt. I. § x.), they were regarded as the chief patrons of the Church of Rochester. The cathedral was dedicated to St. Andrew in commemoration of the great convent of St. Andrew on the Cælian, to which Augustine and all his companions had originally belonged.

[A.D. 656—726.] The next four bishops—DAMIAN, PUTTA, QUICHELM, and GEBMUND—were men of little note. The see over which they presided was small and poor, and two of them, at least, deserted their charge in consequence. TOBIAS, who succeeded in the year 693, was, according to Bede, one of the most learned Churchmen of his time in England. He had studied in the school established at Canterbury by Theodore and Hadrian, so that "Greek and Latin were as familiar to him as the accents of his native tongue\*." Tobias died in 726, and was interred in the chapel (*porticus*) of St. Paul, within the cathedral, which he had constructed for this purpose during his lifetime.

[A.D. 727—1075.] Of the bishops of Rochester between Tobias and Siward, who occupied the see at the period of the Conquest, scarcely anything is recorded beyond the names; and even these vary in the lists furnished by different chroniclers. None of them apparently were men of learning or distinction. SIWARD, who had been Abbot of

\* Bede, H. E., l. v. c. 23.

Abingdon, was consecrated in the year 1058, and was not removed from his see after the Conquest. He assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Lanfranc, and died in the year 1075. The diocese of Rochester had suffered much during the Danish ravages, and probably during the stormy time succeeding the Conquest; and on the death of Siward his church was found, says Malmesbury, "wretched and empty, destitute of all things within and without." Five canons alone remained, who supported themselves from day to day with no small difficulty.

After Siward's death, ARNOST, a monk of Bec, was consecrated by Lanfranc as his successor. He died in the following year, and

[A.D. 1076—1107.] GUNDULF, also a monk of Bec, succeeded him. Under this bishop the condition of the Church of Rochester was greatly improved. The secular canons were replaced by a body of more than sixty Benedictines, "*bene legentes et optime cantantes*," the cathedral itself was rebuilt (Pt. I. § 1.), and by the assistance of Archbishop Lanfranc, who also contributed large sums of money toward the rebuilding of the cathedral, several manors which had been alienated were recovered for the see. Besides his cathedral, Gundulf, who was one of the most celebrated military architects of his time, has the reputation of having built the great keep of Rochester Castle, one of the most impressive remains of the Norman period in England, besides portions of the Tower of London and of the Castle of Dover. But, although Gundulf certainly built a castle at Rochester,—at a cost, says the Chronicle, of £60,—there is reason to doubt whether the existing keep is not of a later period. Gundulf removed the relics of St. Paulinus into their silver shrine, and assigned them the place of honour at the eastern end of his new cathedral. A plain tomb, said to be that of Bishop Gundulf, remains in the chancel, (Pt. I. § xv.)

[A.D. 1108—1114.] RALPH D' ESCURES, who had been Abbot

of Saye in Normandy, was translated from Rochester to Canterbury in 1114.

[A.D. 1115—1124.] **ERNULF**, like his predecessor Gundulf, was a prelate with the true Norman instinct for architecture. He had been a monk of Bec, whence Lanfranc had summoned him to Canterbury. Under Anselm he became Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, then Abbot of Peterborough, and was consecrated Bishop of Rochester by Ralph, after his elevation to the primacy. At Canterbury, Ernulf had completed the cathedral commenced by Lanfranc. At Peterborough he nearly rebuilt the monastery, and at Rochester he was not less zealous. Some points of resemblance between his works here and at Canterbury have been pointed out in Pt. I. § xx. Under

[A.D. 1125—1137.] **JOHN**, who had been Archdeacon of Canterbury, the new cathedral was solemnly consecrated.

[A.D. 1137—1142.] **JOHN**, Abbot of Saye,

[A.D. 1142—1148.] **ASCELIN**, and

[A.D. 1148—1182.] **WALTER**, Archdeacon of Canterbury, need only be named. The archbishops of Canterbury had hitherto always appointed to the see of Rochester. Archbishop Theobald, on the death of Ascelin, placed the right of election for the future in the hands of the monks of St. Andrew's convent.

[A.D. 1182—1184.] **WALERAN**.

[A.D. 1185—1214.] **GILBERT DE GLANVILLE**, Archdeacon of Luxeuil. Throughout his episcopate, a perpetual quarrel, the cause of which is uncertain, prevailed between him and his monks, from whom—according to Edmund of Hadenham, one of their number, and therefore to some extent a prejudiced witness—he took the greater part of their farms and manors, besides appropriating the churches which had hitherto belonged to the convent. In order to support the legal actions which the monks brought against their bishop, they sold many of the ornaments of their church; among the rest, the silver with which Lanfranc

had decorated the shrine of St. Paulinus. "Bishop Gilbert," says Edmund the Monk, "was a native of Northumberland, and proved clearly enough the truth of what is said concerning those regions, that 'out of the North proceedeth all evil,' (quod ab Aquilone prodit omne malum.)" Gilbert, who, as Bishop of Rochester, acted as Archbishop Baldwin's vicar during his absence in the Holy Land, was also for some time Chancellor of England. "*Hic cum Cancellarius esset Regalis, matris Ecclesiæ bona cancellare non desiit spiritualis.*" The famous interdict of King John's reign (see *CANTERBURY*, Pt. II., Stephen Langton,) continued during the last seven years of Bishop Gilbert's episcopate, and was annulled immediately after his death. It was, thought Edmund of Hadenham, a mark of divine vengeance that he did not live to see its close; "so that the Church, which prays even for Jews and heretics, was not permitted to celebrate the holy mysteries at his death." He was buried on the north side of the high altar, "*inter fundatores confundator.*" A remarkable tomb, which has been assigned to him, remains in the chancel of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § xv.)

[A.D. 1215—1226.] **BENEDICT DE SANSETUN.** In the year of his accession Rochester Castle, which had been held by certain of the Barons, was taken by King John, and the cathedral was plundered, so that "not even a pix remained in which the body of the Lord might rest upon the altar." (*Adeo ut nec pixis cum corpore Christi super altare remaneret.*)

[A.D. 1227—1235.] **HENRY DE SANDFORD,** Archdeacon of Canterbury. According to Edmund of Hadenham and Matthew Paris, whilst this bishop was on one occasion saying Mass at Sittingbourn, he announced to the people that a vision had been accorded him by which he was assured that on that very day three souls, and three only, had passed from purgatory to the joys of heaven—those of King Richard Cœur-de-Lion, of Archbishop Stephen

Langton, and of a nameless chaplain of the archbishop's. The new choir of Rochester was used for the first time in the year of Bishop Henry's accession.

[A.D. 1238—1250.] The monks of Rochester, on the death of Bishop Henry, chose as his successor RICHARD DE WENDOVER, rector of the church of Bromley, whom, however, the Archbishop, Edmund Rich, refused to consecrate, declaring him to be "rude and unlearned." After the church of Rochester had been three years without a head, a papal mandate at last compelled the Archbishop to recognise the choice of the monks. Bishop Richard was buried in the church of Westminster by the command of Henry III., in acknowledgment of the great excellence of his life.

[A.D. 1251—1274.] LAWRENCE DE ST. MARTIN, one of the King's chaplains, was consecrated at Lyons in 1251. He struggled in vain against the rapacity of Archbishop Boniface of Savoy, who had taken possession of much property belonging to the see of Rochester. He carried his appeal against the Archbishop to Rome, where, however, he found the Pope, Alexander VI., unable or unwilling to assist him. At this time Bishop Lawrence procured the canonization of St. William, and, if we are to believe a statement of Edmund of Hadenham, he acted for some time as senator of Rome. "*Iste vero Laurentius per multum tempus Senator Romanorum fuisse dicitur*." The Bishop went to Rome in 1256, in which year the Senator Brancalone laid down his office, and did not resume it until 1258. It is possible that Bishop Lawrence may have filled it during some part of the interval. In 1264 the castle of Rochester, which was held by the Earl of Warrene and others of the King's party, was besieged by Simon de Montfort and the Barons. The city was taken and plundered on Good Friday, when "the satellites of the devil entered the church of St. Andrew with their drawn swords, and striking fear and horror into its children and those also

<sup>b</sup> Ang. Sac., i. 351.

who had taken refuge in it, crucified them together with the Lord, who suffereth in His elect. Moreover they plundered the gold and silver, and precious things. Some of the monks they kept imprisoned all the night, and armed men on their horses rode about the altars, and dragged thence with impious hands certain persons who had fled to them. . . . The holy places—the chapels, the cloisters, the chapter-house, the infirmary—were made stables for their horses, and filled with filth and uncleanness.\* The tomb of Bishop Lawrence remains in the chancel, (Pt. I. § xv.)

[A.D. 1274—1278.] **WALTER DE MERTON**, the distinguished founder of Merton College, Oxford, was born, as is most probable, in the early part of the thirteenth century, at Basingstoke in Hampshire, where his parents, who were of good family, were both buried. Their son Walter is said to have been educated at the Augustinian Priory of Merton in Surrey—whence he derived the surname which he afterwards bestowed on his foundation at Oxford—and at Oxford. He was certainly in Holy Orders in the year 1238, but had early applied himself to the study of the law, and seems to have practised in the King's courts. Before 1240 he had acquired considerable landed property in Surrey, chiefly in the parishes adjoining Merton, and his reputation and influence at court steadily increased, until, in 1258, he became Chancellor. Numerous prebends and other preferments were bestowed on him by the King, who was much pressed for money, and had no readier means of paying him. In 1262, during Henry the Third's absence in France, Walter de Merton was continued in office, from which, however, he was removed by the Barons in 1263. In 1272, the first year of Edward I., he was again appointed Chancellor, "displaying extraordinary ability, and materially contributing to the auspicious commencement of the new reign." On his removal from office in 1274 he received the bishopric of Rochester, and died, it

\* Ed. de Hadenham, Ang. Sac., i. 351.

is said, from the effects of a fall from his horse into the Medway, Oct. 27, 1277. His tomb in the north-east transept has already been noticed, (Pt. I. § XI.)

Although Walter de Merton occupied a public position of no small importance during his lifetime, he is now best remembered from his noble foundation at Oxford, "the first incorporation of any body of persons for purposes of *study* in this kingdom, and the first effort to raise the condition of the secular clergy by bringing them into close connection with an academical course of study;" the first independent *college* in fact, "a distinct republic with its endowments, statutes, and internal government," and thus "distinguished from the hall or hostel, where the other scholars dwelt and studied only under the ordinary academic discipline." Bishop Walter's college, at first a much smaller institution, was originally established in connection with Oxford, in the year 1274, at Malden, the adjoining parish to Merton, in Surrey. It was subsequently removed altogether to Oxford, and in 1274 its statutes were ratified by the founder, and by King Edward I. In 1275 Archbishop Kilwardby grants his confirmation to the completed foundation, describing its object as that of producing by education in arts, common law, and theology, a "*copia doctorum qui velut stellæ in perpetuas æternitates mansuri valeant ad justitiam plurimos erudire.*" That it did at once produce a "*copia doctorum*" is sufficiently proved by the great number of bishops and archbishops who received their education at Merton during the next two centuries. It should especially be recollected, however, that the college was established for the benefit of the secular clergy in opposition to the regulars. "De Merton, though he introduced, according to the habits of his time, much of the monastic discipline, the common diet, seclusion within the walls, regular service and study; perhaps as a Churchman, possibly with even more widely prophetic view, was singularly jealous lest his college should degenerate into a narrow

monastic community. Whoever became a monk was expelled from his fellowship<sup>4</sup>." The monastic chronicler of Rochester sufficiently indicates that Bishop Walter's memory was not greatly revered by the Benedictines of his convent. He acquired, we are told, two additional manors for the bishopric, "but notwithstanding his great power and authority, neither did himself, nor procured from others, any good thing for the prior and convent."

The see of Rochester was held by no very distinguished prelate from this time until the Reformation.

[A.D. 1278—1283.] JOHN DE BRADFIELD, precentor of the church of Rochester, succeeded De Merton. He had been excellent as a monk, says Master Edmund, but turned out an indifferent bishop. "From superlative he passed to comparative; from comparative to positive."

[A.D. 1283—1291.] THOMAS INGLETHORPE, Dean of St. Paul's. His tomb remains in the chancel, (Pt. I. § xv.)

[A.D. 1292—1317.] THOMAS DE WOLDHAM, Prior of Rochester. For two years the see remained vacant.

[A.D. 1319—1352.] HAYMO DE H1THE, Confessor of Edward II. The beautiful doorway of the chapter-house (Pt. I. § xvi.) is said to have been constructed during his episcopate. He contributed large sums toward the restoration of his cathedral, and built much at the various manors belonging to the see, especially at Halling on the Medway. The shrines of St. Paulinus and Ithamar were renewed and richly adorned by him. Bishop Haymo very prudently kept aloof as much as possible from the troubles of his time; but was in some danger on the occasion of Bishop Stapledon's murder in 1326, when he escaped on foot from London. The chief particulars of his episcopate

<sup>4</sup> Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, vi. 102. For ample notices of Merton College and its objects, see the Report of the Oxford University Commission, and a "Sketch of the Life of Walter de Merton," by Edmund, Bishop of Nelson. (Oxford: J. H. and Jas. Parker, 1859.)

<sup>5</sup> Ang. Sac., i. 352.

have been recorded by William of Dene, a member of his household ; who duly sets forth the upright conduct of Bishop Haymo, at a time when the other prelates were "sacrificing to Mahomet" (*Machumeto sacrificabant*), and submitting themselves to the control of Queen Isabella and her favourite Mortimer. (See the narrative of William of Dene in *Ang. Sac.*, vol. i.) In 1348 the Bishop's household was almost swept away by the Black Death.

[A.D. 1353—1360.] JOHN DE SHEPPEY, Prior of Rochester. He was Treasurer (not Chancellor, as is usually asserted) of England from 1326 to 1358. His remarkable effigy has been noticed Pt. I. § XIII.

[A.D. 1362—1364.] WILLIAM OF WHITTLESEA, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, was translated to Worcester in 1364, and afterwards to Canterbury. (See that Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1364—1372.] THOMAS TRILLECK, Dean of St. Paul's.

[A.D. 1373—1389. THOMAS BRINTON, a Benedictine, intruded by the Pope. He was Confessor of Richard II.

[A.D. 1389—1400.] WILLIAM DE BOTTLESHAM, a Dominican of great learning, translated from Llandaff, and intruded by the King, Richard II., in opposition to the monks, who had elected Richard Barnet.

[A.D. 1400—1404.] JOHN DE BOTTLESHAM, Chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[A.D. 1404—1418.] RICHARD YONG, translated from Bangor.

[A.D. 1419—1421.] JOHN KEMP, translated successively to Chichester, London, York, and Canterbury. (See CANTERBURY Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1422—1434.] JOHN LANGDON, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, was intruded by the Pope. He is said to have received the bishopric as a reward for his zeal in the prosecution of Wickliffe under Archbishop Arundel. Langdon died in 1434, whilst attending the Council of Basle.

[A.D. 1435—1436.] THOMAS BROWN, Vicar-general of Archbishop Chichele, and Dean of Salisbury, succeeded. During

his absence at the Council of Basle he was translated to Norwich.

[A.D. 1437—1444.] WILLIAM WELLS, Abbot of York.

[A.D. 1444—1467.] JOHN LOWE, translated from St. Asaph, was General of the Augustinians in England, and a prelate of considerable learning. His tomb remains in the north-east transept, (Pt. I. § XI.)

[A.D. 1468—1472.] THOMAS ROTHERHAM, translated to York.

[A.D. 1472—1476.] JOHN ALCOCK, translated to Worcester.

[A.D. 1476—1480.] JOHN RUSSELL, guardian of the young prince, afterwards Edward V., translated to Lincoln.

[A.D. 1480—1492.] EDMUND AUDLEY, translated to Hereford, and thence to Salisbury, where his beautiful chantry still remains. (See that Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1493—1496.] THOMAS SAVAGE, translated to London.

[A.D. 1497—1503.] RICHARD FITZ-JAMES, translated to Chichester.

[A.D. 1504—1535.] JOHN FISHER, the unhappy fellow-sufferer with Sir Thomas More, was born in 1459, at Beverley in Yorkshire, and educated at Cambridge. At an early age he was made chaplain and confessor to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. ; and it was by Fisher's counsel that she founded the two great colleges of St. John's and Christ's at Cambridge, and established the "Lady Margaret" professorships of Divinity in both Universities. In 1501 Fisher was elected Chancellor of Cambridge, and in the following year became himself the first "Margaret" professor there. In 1504 he was raised to the see of Rochester, at the especial recommendation of Fox, Bishop of Winchester.

On all the great questions connected with the early English Reformation, Bishop Fisher zealously supported the side of Rome. He wrote against Luther, and endeavoured by all possible means to prevent the spreading of his doctrines in the University of Cambridge; he maintained the

validity of the King's marriage with Catherine of Arragon; he opposed the dissolution of the monasteries, and protested in Convocation against the title of "Supreme Head of the English Church" assumed by Henry VIII. Like Archbishop Warham and some others, Bishop Fisher gave too ready a credence to the pretended revelations of Elizabeth Barton, the famous nun of Kent; and was adjudged guilty of misprision of treason for having concealed certain speeches of the supposed prophetess which related to the King. He was condemned to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, but was released upon payment of £300. After the passing of the Act of Succession, which confirmed the marriage of the King with Anne Boleyn, and entailed the crown upon her issue, Bishop Fisher refused to take the oath of observance which had been accepted by both Houses, and was accordingly committed to the Tower, April 26, 1534.

Many attempts were made, but in vain, to induce Fisher to take the oath of succession. He agreed at length to promise allegiance to the King, and to the issue of the new marriage; but declared "that his conscience could not be convinced that the marriage was not against the law of God." With this, however, Henry was not satisfied, and in January, 1534, Bishop Fisher was attainted of high treason, and his bishopric declared void. He still remained in the Tower, without money and without resources; it is even said that sufficient clothing was not provided for him. In May, 1535, Paul III. created him Cardinal of St. Vitalis. The King ordered that the cardinal's hat should not be brought into his dominions, and was still further enraged at learning that Fisher had declared his intention of accepting it. Visitors were now sent to the Tower to ascertain the Bishop's opinion concerning the statute of the Royal Supremacy, which had been passed since his committal. This statute he declared himself altogether unable to recognise. He was accordingly placed without delay on his

trial, found guilty of high treason, and condemned to lose his head, a sentence which was executed on Tower-hill, June 22, 1535. His body, by the King's command, remained all day naked on the scaffold. His head was fixed over London-bridge; but, after it had been exposed there for fourteen days it was taken down and thrown into the Thames, because, according to Hall, the Bishop's biographer, "the face was observed to become fresher and more comely day by day," and such was the concourse of persons who assembled to look at it, that "almost neither cart nor horse could pass."

In the earlier part of his career Bishop Fisher might, had he chosen, have attained to much higher preferment; but he declared that he never would exchange the bishopric of Rochester, then the smallest and poorest in England, for any other. His learning and piety, as well as the great gentleness of his disposition, caused his death to be regarded with more than usual indignation: in Burnet's words, "it left one of the greatest blots upon this kingdom's proceedings." Henry himself, in the earlier period of his reign, had been much attached to Bishop Fisher, and asked Cardinal Pole if in all his travels he had ever found a prelate of equal worth and ability with the Bishop of Rochester?

Fisher had "the notablest library of books in all England,—two long galleries full," and undertook the study of Greek when upwards of sixty years old. "Reverendus Episcopus Roffensis," writes Erasmus, who knew him well, "vir non solum mirabili integritate vitæ, verum etiam alta et recondita doctrina, tum morum quoque incredibili comitate commendatus maximis pariter ac minimis. . . . Aut egregie fallor, aut is vir est unus, cum quo nemo sit hac tempestate conferendus, vel integritate vitæ, vel eruditione, vel animi magnitudine."

<sup>f</sup> Hist. of the Reformation.

<sup>g</sup> Apol. Poli., p. 95.

<sup>h</sup> Harl. MSS., No. 7,047, p. 17; quoted by Bruce, *Archæologia*, vol. xxv.

An interesting notice of Bishop Fisher, especially of his last troubles, by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., will be found in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxv.

[A.D. 1535—1538.] JOHN HILSEY, Prior of the Dominican convent in London, but a decided advocate of the Reformation, succeeded. It was this bishop who exhibited at St. Paul's Cross the famous "Rood of Boxley," breaking it in pieces before the people, and displaying to them the springs by which it had been moved.

[A.D. 1540, translated to Worcester in 1543.] NICHOLAS HEATH, King Henry the Eighth's Almoner.

[A.D. 1544, translated to Lincoln 1547.] HENRY HOLBEACH.

[A.D. 1547, translated to London 1550.] NICHOLAS RIDLEY.  
(See LONDON.)

[A.D. 1550.] JOHN POYNET, translated to Winchester in the following year. (See WINCHESTER.)

[A.D. 1551, translated to Chichester 1552.] JOHN SCORY.  
(See CHICHESTER.) The see remained vacant for nearly two years.

[A.D. 1554—1558.] MAURICE GRIFFIN, who had been educated by the Dominicans of Oxford, was appointed on the accession of Mary. "His diocese was but of small extent," says Fuller, "but that flock must be very little indeed out of which the ravenous wolf cannot fetch some prey for himself. Maurice the bishop played the tyrant<sup>1</sup>." Four persons were burnt during his episcopate, and the Bishop himself died of the same fever which proved fatal to the Queen and to Cardinal Pole.

[A.D. 1560, translated to Salisbury 1571.] EDMUND GHEAST.  
(See SALISBURY.)

[A.D. 1572, translated to Norwich 1575.] EDMUND FREKE.

[A.D. 1576, translated to Salisbury 1577, and thence to York.] JOHN PIERS. (See YORK.)

[A.D. 1578—1605.] JOHN YONGE, buried in the parish church of Bromley.

<sup>1</sup> Church Hist.

[A.D. 1605, translated to Lincoln 1608.] **WILLIAM BARLOW.**

When Dean of Chester this prelate was employed by Archbishop Whitgift to draw up an account of the Hampton Court Conference held before King James in January, 1603.

[A.D. 1608, translated to Lichfield 1610, and thence successively to Durham, Winchester, and York.] **RICHARD NEILE.** (See YORK.)

[A.D. 1611, translated to Ely 1628.] **JOHN BUCKERIDGE**, the intimate friend of Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, whom he had succeeded in the vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and whose funeral sermon he preached. Bishop Buckeridge wrote a book "against the power of the Pope in temporal matters," which, says Godwin, "could his predecessor Bishop Fisher have perused, he never would have lost his life in defence of a doctrine so notoriously false." Buckeridge died in 1631, and was buried at Bromley, notwithstanding his translation to the see of Ely.

[A.D. 1628, translated in the following year to Bath and Wells, and thence to Winchester.] **WALTER CURLE.**

[A.D. 1630—1637.] **JOHN BOWLE**, Dean of Salisbury.

[A.D. 1638—1666.] **JOHN WARNER**; born of a good family in London, and educated at Oxford, was conspicuous for his defence of the Church of England against the attacks of the Puritan party in the early period of the Civil War. "God," says Fuller<sup>1</sup>, "hath given him a great estate, and a liberal heart to make use of it. Keeping good hospitality in the Christmas at Bromley, as he fed many poor, so he freed himself from much trouble; being absent when the rest of the bishops subscribed their protest in Parliament, whereby he enjoyed liberty in (during) the restraint of others of his order. He was an able and active advocate for episcopacy in the House of Lords, speaking for them as

<sup>1</sup> Worthies—Westminster. Fuller's "Worthies of England" was published during the lifetime of Bishop Warner.

long as he had any voice left him, and then willing to have made signs in their just defence if it might have been permitted him." During the Protectorate, Bishop Warner was permitted to remain at Bromley, but of course lost all the revenues of his see. These he recovered on the Restoration. His private means were large, and by his will he left considerable sums toward the repair of Rochester Cathedral, and to the colleges of Magdalen and Balliol, with which he had been connected in Oxford. At Bromley he founded the college for widows of the clergy, which still remains, a worthy memorial of him. He was buried in his own cathedral (Pt. I. § XIII.), the last bishop who has been interred there, and the only one since Bishop Lowe, in the fifteenth century.

[A.D. 1666, translated to York 1683.] JOHN DOLBEN. (See YORK.)

[A.D. 1683, translated in the following year to Ely.] FRANCIS TURNER. (See ELY.)

[A.D. 1684—1713.] THOMAS SPRAT; born in 1636, at Tallaton, in Devonshire, in which village he received his earliest education, proceeded to Wadham College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship. In 1659 he wrote a poem on the death of Cromwell, which was published together with others by Dryden and Waller. In this poem Sprat, somewhat anticipating later judgments, declares that Cromwell's fame, "like man, will grow white as it grows old." He took orders after the Restoration, and was made chaplain to Charles II. His "History of the Royal Society," his "Life of Cowley," and other works, procured him considerable reputation, and he became successively Prebendary of Westminster, Canon of Windsor, Dean of Westminster, and, in 1684, Bishop of Rochester.

Although necessarily concerned in the great public events which followed his elevation to the see of Rochester, Bishop Sprat "had neither enthusiasm nor constancy. Both his ambition and his party-spirit were always effectually kept

in order by his love of ease and his anxiety for his own safety. He had been guilty of some criminal compliances, in the hope of gaining the favour of James, had sate in the High Commission, had concurred in several iniquitous decrees pronounced by that Court, and had, with trembling hands and faltering voice, read the Declaration of Indulgence in the choir of the abbey. But there he had stopped. As soon as it began to be whispered that the civil and religious constitution of England would speedily be vindicated by extraordinary means, he had resigned the powers which he had during two years exercised in defiance of law, and had hastened to make his peace with his clerical brethren. He had in the Convention voted for a Regency; but he had taken the oaths without hesitation: he had borne a conspicuous part in the coronation of the new sovereigns, and by his skilful hand had been added to the form of prayer used on the fifth of November those sentences in which the Church expresses her gratitude for the second great deliverance wrought on that day<sup>1</sup>. The Bishop, however, was not on perfectly good terms with the Government of William III. "For the feeling which, next to solicitude for his own comfort and repose, seems to have had the greatest influence on his public conduct, was his dislike of the Puritans; a dislike which sprang, not from bigotry, but from Epicureanism. Their austerity was a reproach to his slothful and luxurious life; their phraseology shocked his fastidious taste; and, where they were concerned, his ordinary good-nature forsook him. Loathing the Nonconformists as he did, he was not likely to be very zealous for a prince whom the Nonconformists regarded as their protector<sup>m</sup>." Either from this cause, or with some other object which it is impossible to discover, Bishop Sprat was chosen by Robert Young, in 1692, as one of the persons

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.*, iv. 249.

<sup>m</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

whose names were to be appended to a forged document purporting to be an "Association for the Restoration of James II." The paper was concealed in a flower-pot at Bromley, and the Government was informed of the pretended 'plot.' The Bishop was taken into custody, and after more than one examination the villany of Young was discovered<sup>a</sup>.

Bishop Sprat died in 1713, and was buried at Westminster. He is said to have been the first to check the custom of 'humming,' with which popular preachers were encouraged by their audiences. When Burnet preached, part of his congregation hummed so loudly and so long that he sat down to enjoy it. When Sprat preached, he likewise was honoured with the same animating hum, but he stretched out his hand to the congregation, and cried, "Peace! peace! I pray you peace!" "This," says Dr. Johnson, "I was told in my youth by an old man who had been no careless observer of the passages of those times<sup>b</sup>."

On the score of his few poetical works, which are now quite forgotten, Bishop Sprat has obtained a place among Johnson's "Lives of the Poets."

[A.D. 1713, deprived 1723.] FRANCIS ATTERBURY, "a man who holds a conspicuous place in the political, ecclesiastical, and literary history of England," was born in 1662, at Middleton in Buckinghamshire, of which parish his father was rector. He was educated at Westminster School, and "carried thence to Christ Church a stock of learning which, though really scanty, he through life exhibited with such judicious ostentation that superficial observers believed his attainments to be immense." At Oxford he distinguished himself in defence of the doctrines of the English Church,

<sup>a</sup> For a full narrative of Young's plot, see Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* iv. 244—258.

<sup>b</sup> Life of Sprat.

then (under James II.) attacked by Papists and 'perverts.' He took orders after the Revolution, and became one of the King's chaplains, but continued to reside principally in Oxford, where he soon became involved in the famous controversy of Boyle with Bentley concerning the "Epistles of Phalaris." The reply to Bentley's first dissertation, although it bears the name of Boyle, was in reality the work of Atterbury, who had been Boyle's tutor, and is his masterpiece, giving "a much higher notion of his power than any of those works to which he put his name." "It is the most extraordinary instance that exists of the art of making much show with little substance." When, two years afterwards, Bentley's reply appeared, entirely demolishing all the arguments of Atterbury, the latter was actively engaged in defending the powers of the Lower House of Convocation, concerning which a considerable dispute had arisen. "By the great body of the clergy he was regarded as the ablest and most intrepid tribune that had ever defended their rights against the oligarchy of prelates." The Lower House of Convocation voted him thanks for his services. The University of Oxford created him a Doctor of Divinity. The Bishop of Exeter made him Archdeacon of Totnes, and soon after the accession of Anne he became Dean of Carlisle.

In the year 1710 Atterbury again distinguished himself on the prosecution of Sacheverell, for whom he composed the speech delivered at the bar of the Lords. He was subsequently removed from the Deanery of Carlisle to that of Christ Church, Oxford, where his "despotic and contentious temper" soon did what it had already done at Carlisle. He was succeeded in both his deaneries by the humane and accomplished Smalridge, who gently complained of the state in which both had been left: "Atterbury goes before and sets everything on fire; I come after him with a bucket of water." From Christ Church he was elevated, in 1713, to

the see of Rochester, with which the Deanery of Westminster had been for some time united.

Atterbury's preferments had been entirely due to his connection with the great Tory party, and he had much reason to dread the accession of the House of Hanover, which was well known to be partial to the Whigs. On the death of Anne he implored his confederates to proclaim James III., but on their refusal he took the oaths to George I., and assisted at the coronation. "But his servility was requited with cold contempt. No creature is so revengeful as a proud man who has humbled himself in vain. Atterbury became the most factious and pertinacious of all the opponents of the Government." In 1717 he began to correspond directly with the Pretender, and was probably concerned in planning the Jacobite insurrection which was to have broken out in 1731. He was then imprisoned, but "had carried on his correspondence with the exiled family so cautiously, that the circumstantial proofs of his guilt, though sufficient to produce entire moral conviction, were not sufficient to justify legal conviction. He could be reached only by a bill of pains and penalties." Such a bill passed both Houses, and provided that "he should be deprived of his spiritual dignities, that he should be banished for life, and that no British subject should hold any intercourse with him except by the royal permission."

He retired accordingly, first to Brussels, and thence to Paris, where he became the leading man among the Jacobite refugees who had assembled there; and after corresponding, almost as his prime minister, with James, Atterbury removed to Montpellier, where he died in 1734. His daughter, who three years before had set out to visit him, died at Toulouse on the same day in which she met her father. The body of Atterbury was brought to England, and laid, with great privacy, under the nave of Westminster. No inscription marks the grave.

In England Atterbury had lived on terms of the closest intimacy with the most eminent men of letters of his time. Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, and Prior were reckoned among his friends; and Pope, who has thus apostrophised him,—

“How charming Atterbury’s softer hour!  
How shines his soul, unconquered, in the Tower,”—

found in him “not only a warm admirer, but a most faithful, fearless, and judicious adviser.”

[A.D. 1723—1731.] SAMUEL BRADFORD, chaplain successively to William III. and to Queen Anne, was translated from Carlisle. He was patronised and much esteemed by Archbishop Tillotson, whose sermons he revised for publication.

[A.D. 1731—1756.] JOSEPH WILCOCKS, translated from Gloucester.

[A.D. 1756—1774.] ZACHARY PEARCE, Dean of Westminster, was translated from Bangor. Whilst Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, he edited Longinus, and Cicero *de Oratore* and *de Officiis*. He retained the deanery of Westminster after his elevation to Rochester, and desired, in 1763, when he was aged seventy-three, to resign both his preferments. He was permitted to resign his deanery, but, although many precedents might have been found, was told that a resignation of his bishopric was impossible.

[A.D. 1774—1793.] JOHN THOMAS, an “amiable prelate,” who, according to one historian of the see of Rochester, “adorned the purity of the Christian with the urbanity of the gentleman.”

[A.D. 1793, translated to St. Asaph 1802.] SAMUEL HORSLEY, the opponent of Dr. Priestley, with whom he main-

† Macaulay. Life of Atterbury in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. All the passages within inverted commas are from this sketch.

tained a long controversy in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity. He was translated to Rochester from St. David's.

[A.D. 1802, translated to Ely 1808.] THOMAS DAMPIER.

[A.D. 1809—1827.] WALKER KING.

[A.D. 1827, translated in the same year to Carlisle.] HUGH PERCY.

[A.D. 1827—1860.] GEORGE MURRAY.

[A.D. 1860.] JOSEPH COTTON WIGRAM.



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